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THE INSTALLATION OF SUKUMA CHIEFS IN MWANZA DISTRICT, TANGANYIKA

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SYNOPSIS

The purpose of this paper is to compare present-day installation ceremonies in Mwanza district with those of the recent as well as the historic past. There is first a reconstruction of the form which the ceremony may have taken in the late nineteenth century in Ilemera and at other places, together with some theoretical explanations of the main parts of the ritual.

The present chief of Nassa who was appointed in 1927, has given a written account of his installation and has provided much additional information. Ceremonies of about the time of his installation were the last that adhered more or less to ancient rituals, since at that time the office of chief had not yet been deprived of many of its powers by the administering authority and was still the keystone of the politico-religious unity of the chiefdom.

This account is followed by descriptions of three more recent installations in which the influence of modern factors is apparent, for instance the religious affiliations of the chief-elect and other participants and the introduction of a more democratic form of local government.

Despite variations brought about by both historical heterogeneity and modern changes, a certain recurring pattern is discernible in all the installations described, the most striking features being steps aimed at the restoration of the politically important supernatural powers of the chieftainship after their temporary decline on the death of the previous incumbent.

1. INSTALLATIONS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The chief in historic times was not specifically an autocrat ruling the tribe; he was always the holder of the essence of kingship which linked the powers of God controlling the rain and sun with the welfare of his people. His worthiness or unworthiness for this role was shown in rain and drought, and his continuance as chief was dependent on his mystical association with the elements. We must look at these rituals with this in mind and note that their disappearance does not coincide entirely with the coming of European suzerainty but more with the chief's loss of the magico-religious powers upon which his people used to depend.

When the chief was seriously ill and his court elders thought that he was unlikely to recover, a man (*nabiji*) was put in the chief's house to answer greetings from inside as if the chief were alive and well. When the chief died, it was kept a secret, and he remained unburied until the court elders (*munang'oma*, pl. *banang'oma*) concluded their consultations, which might take as long as a month, on who was to inherit the chieftainship. The object of this deception, which cannot have been really effective, was to give the court elders time to elect a new chief without interference from outside factions, as well as to protect them and the candidates from witchcraft.

As the dead chief was not buried in damp ground, as was done with the corpses of those

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suffering from ritual heat (*busebu*), there does not seem to have been any idea that a period of cooling off should elapse.

The chief, during his lifetime, would have done everything he could to impress upon the court elders the intelligence and popularity of his favourite son and thus ensure that after his death they would select him; but, although he might have secured a certain amount of tacit agreement, he had no means of guaranteeing his choice since the election of a new chief was entirely in the hands of the court elders, and any discussion which might take place would have had little effect after his death.

The election took place through a series of divinations on the entrails of chickens of which there was one for each candidate. The court elders discussed the signs they saw in the entrails and related them to the characters of the candidates until, through a slow process of selection, their number was reduced by general agreement and a final choice was unanimous.

If there was any likelihood of a locked decision, the elders went round the chiefdom to canvass support for their particular views. There was no pretence at democratic election, and sometimes people were killed in the quarrelling which appears to have taken the form of palace revolutions.

The elders were always of the same family as the chief, and a new chief with a mind of his own would get his supporters into their ranks. As the previous chief's family exclusively controlled the elections they were naturally more interested in consolidating their own power than in considering the welfare of the chiefdom as a whole. As the new chief's role was essentially that of a link between the powers of God and man, his personal character may have been of little importance in their deliberations.

As the position of chief was in itself no sinecure and imposed heavy responsibilities as well as dangers upon the person selected, the successful candidate was often unwilling to assume office and his show of reluctance, which necessitated his seizure by the ritual companion (see Section II *et seq.*), might well have been prompted by

discretion; for should he show that he knew that he was going to be elected, he would undoubtedly expose himself to the enmity and possibly the witchcraft of the unsuccessful candidates.

While in Ilemera chiefdom the seizure involved no ceremony other than catching the successful candidate, in Nassa chiefdom the children of the late chief were all gathered in one place and the ritual companion pretended to catch them all one by one until the name of the chief-elect was whispered in his ear by the senior court elder (*ngabe*) whereupon the successful candidate was seized and his clothes pulled off before he was pushed into the hut of seclusion in which he remained until the new moon.

This period of seclusion was not for instruction, but for protection from his potential enemies, and for immunizing him from the mystical dangers associated with his lost commoner status and his transition to chieftainship. During this period he performed his natural functions into a rain-maker's pot and these were disposed of by the court elders in order to prevent their use in aggressive sorcery against him. A fire was kept going all the time in the hut with *mlama* branches (*Combretum*se). His food was prepared with any fire-wood other than that from the *ngurugiji* tree (species unknown).

When the chief-elect was taken into the hut of seclusion by the elder, the chiefly amulet was put on his wrist but taken off again at once and replaced only when he had completed the period of seclusion and the installation ceremonies, since it was a period of tension and the chiefdom would suffer if he should die complete with the emblems of chieftainship during that period.

The whole period from when the chief's death was publicly announced and the new chief chosen until the end of the celebrations was one of trial for the chief and for the chiefdom, and it has a special name, *lugaya*, signified by the almost continuous beating of the chief's drums, which were kept in his compound. During this period there was doubt whether the new chief would actually rule; it was not a question whether he might fail to understand the instructions given by the senior court elder, but that he

might die through the jealousy of his relatives who would employ witchcraft against him.

The beaters of the drums were specialists trained in the art, but who required no magic powers; they were not the custodians of the drums and were only required for work on the two occasions on which the drums were used; at the death and installation of a chief and at the annual ceremony of shaving the chief's head before the planting of his people's crops.

On the biggest of the drums there was a necklace of blue-green beads similar in colour to those sewn on to the chief's ceremonial lion skin, and to the two that the ritual companion had sewn on to his wrist-band. These beads were associated with ancestor worship, and if any were lost they were only replaced at the time of installation.

As a successful candidate might well have been an adult who had married prior to his election, it was natural that his wife should be involved in some of the special ritual during his installation and should subsequently attain a special status. She remained his senior wife even though she could not take any official part in the ritual ceremonies of his rank, and she was senior to the official consort who was specially chosen for her role.

When the chief left the hut of seclusion this wife was also present and was shaved along with him. This wife's children were senior to those born to the official consort, and it is only in recent years that the latter's children have taken precedence over the former's in inheriting the chieftainship, as a result of the central government's interest in training potential chiefs and insistence on orderly succession.

From the time of the candidate's election to his installation his commoner wife was not allowed to sleep at home because of the possibility of witchcraft; she also received instruction from the old chief's wives on how she should behave in order to avoid giving offence to the people by pride or avarice; how she should not quarrel with her husband in public, and never spit or be shaved outside the chief's compound even if she were visiting her own relatives, because of the

danger of witchcraft; and should follow the taboos of the chief, such as never to handle dried wood in case his power should dry up.

In Ilemera the official consort of the deceased chief was sent to her home for sixty days after his death, by which time the elders and relatives had decided by whom she should be inherited.

She was then called and asked by whom she wanted to be inherited and, if the name she suggested did not coincide with the one chosen by the elders she was allowed to go home to her own people. If the names did coincide, the ceremony *kwiyeja* to remove the ritual state of the widow was performed with a cow and not with a goat which was used for ordinary people.

Although she was now formally the wife of her inheritor she still retained a large measure of the respect which she had received as his predecessor's wife. The levirate was the normal custom in the past and was not different for official consort.

In Ilemera while the chief-elect was being secluded he could not be approached by a widow because it would have implied that he himself was dying. Nor could a menstruating woman come near him because her blood was leaving her involuntarily and the control of the chieftainship might leave him in the same way. The same applied to anyone who was bleeding from a cut or was sick or who had recently had a death in the family. Also a man from another chieftainship might have brought unknown evil with him as might other persons in certain ritual states, such as those who had developed their top teeth first or who had given birth to twins.

The ritual companion (*kiheka*) had a complex role for which there may well be several explanations. His name in the vernacular means after-birth, with the idea that the after-birth carried the child, just as this man in the Nassa installation carried the chief-elect into his official residence; and there may have been some idea that this man was the means by which the chief was protected and born into life through the installation ceremony. In everyday life the after-birth is buried by the mid-wife after delivery,

and because of this the ritual companion in the Nassa chiefdom never saw the chief again after the installation. In Bukumbi chiefdom, however, the ritual companion was identified with the caul and was consequently in constant attendance upon the chief throughout his reign.

In Ilemera the ritual companion had to be a young boy from the male side of the chiefly family and was elected by the elders during the period of the chief's seclusion. His attendance was obligatory at all the ceremonies in which the chief was involved, and should he be indisposed, they had to have a temporary substitute. His father could not object to his being chosen although he had been informed in advance. When the lad was seized by the elders he was given completely new clothes to wear.

If the chief was sick, the ritual companion took his place, not to act as the chief, but to represent him as still being well, so that wizards would not redouble their effort to kill the chief; for instance he answered from inside the hut in imitation of the chief's voice when people who were not relatives came to greet him. During the installation period particularly he was treated as a chief, even to the court elders' preparing his bed as they did for the chief. Some say that the ritual companion used to be left at the chief's court when the chief went away. However, as result of abusing his position, he was relegated to his present status which is of only ritual importance. He could ask the chief for help throughout his life, and also accompanied the chief when he went round his chiefdom.

In Bukumbi the ritual companion fulfilled the same position of a protector of the chief. It is said that there was once a revolution in the dominant lineage and the chief-elect and his mother were sheltered by one man when they fled for their lives; because of this one man was always chosen to go everywhere with the chief in order to protect him. There was no idea of his acting as a substitute chief.

The official consort was newly appointed with each new chief but until she had been chosen the chief could use his predecessor's consort for any ritual emergency. In Nassa the official consort

was usually sought for by the court elders before the installation, and she also had to be seized by them, as no girl would have willingly taken on such a position of possible danger.

The marriage was arranged in the normal way except that there would be no uxori-local residence after the wedding, and the bride-price would have been higher than for commoner marriages. In Nassa a bride-price of 25 head of cattle was handed over, although the normal bride-price was not more than 15 head. In Ilemera the marriage took place at the end of the month-long period of installation celebrations during which the chief would see a likely looking girl at one of the dances. This was a free choice for the chief, but he would have been influenced by his court elders who carried out the marriage negotiations. On the wedding night an unmarried girl relative of the chief took his place and slept with the bride although the bull of consummation had been killed the previous morning at her house before she had left home.

These alterations in the normal customs were no doubt dictated by questions of dignity rather than of magic ritual. Although the chief did no work himself for his father-in-law, as a commoner would have done, he sent a party of young men later to cultivate his fields at the beginning of the rainy season.

For a short time after the wedding no one greeted the chief or his wife without giving them a small present in commiseration for the dangers of witchcraft in their marriage rather than in congratulation.

The girl who slept with the chief-elect for one night (see Section II *et seq.*) seems at one time to have been a feature of all installations. The ritual may have two ideas behind it, first, that the chief had died and that the drums which were the principal symbols of his office both for ceremony and war had become split and useless. These drums had to be repaired in order to install the chief symbolically, and this girl repaired them not only by rubbing oil on them but also on the chief as if he were one with them. The second idea may be that the girl, being unmarried, was free from magical influences

brought on by contact with people outside the dominant lineage interested in the maintenance of a stable chieftainship, and that during the intercourse, the chief-elect might sweat out any magic carried by him from his commoner life on to the girl, and that this would be washed away. Since the drums had to be maintained in good order for the duration of the chief's life the girl was always available for their repair and there was no prohibition on her meeting the chief again from time to time.

This girl in each chiefdom came from a clan different from that of the chief and was chosen because of her good qualities of face rather than of body, and not because of her possible fertility or domestic attainments. She must be unmarried and not have had a child. The chief was asked which girl he preferred although the court elders were responsible for the choice, and the girl's father was formally asked for permission when the elders came to his house to take her away in the evening, but there was no question of refusal; no payment was made to the girl or her father prior to her removal. She was returned again to her home in the morning.

If the girl resisted she was carried along by the court elders and, once she was inside the chief's house, should she refuse to play her part, she was left there until she was willing. It is alleged that there was not the same forcible taking of the girl and resistance to it as at a normal wedding of that time, but the elder who was on duty at the door could stop the girl opening it and escaping.

There was no ceremony before this one intercourse which occurred on a lion-skin on the floor, nor was she specially dressed for the occasion although the other women of the household might quieten her if she was hysterical.

If the girl conceived she might be married by the chief but in any case the child belonged to the chief. No illegitimacy compensation was allowed, as five head of cattle (*ng'ombe ja bukwi wa chojo*), two bulls and three cows would in any case have been handed over as a form of bride-price after the ceremony, without which it would lose its effectiveness. The girl was instructed by the senior court elder, before she was taken in to the

chief, to behave herself and to profit from her position and was told that her father would suffer if she made trouble by making a noise which would disclose this secret ritual.

When the intercourse was over the commoner wife of the new chief brought in specially prepared water with which the pair thoroughly washed each other, or themselves if they were shy. This water contained the pounded up leaves of the trees *mnama* (*Combretum* sp), *mala* (species unknown) and *lweja* (*Gymnosporia senegalensis*).

This girl could not be married subsequently to anyone without the permission of the chief nor could the chief sleep with her again even by stealth, unless he went through the proper procedure of marriage.

The senior court elder alone had the right to shave the heads of the chief-elect and the girl of the one night on the morning after their ritual intercourse. If at any time the chief was ill he had to come and asperge him in order to remove the malevolence of the ancestors causing the illness. In the past a chief who failed to bring rain successfully would have been deposed and there is the tradition both in Ilemera and Nassa that the present senior elders are from the families of such deposed chiefs. If the chief carried out a propitiation ceremony the senior elder had to be there, as without him the ceremony would not have been efficacious as he was the descendant of the true owner of the land. There are some chiefdoms which did not have an official with this particular role since the existing chief's family had ruled from the start. He was also the mediator for quarrels within the chief's family.

The duties of the senior court elder also included supervising the other court elders, advising on new appointments and distributing their meat and beer at feasts. He acted as their leader in their dealings with the chief, but nowadays he has increasingly carried out ancient rituals in place of the chief who has not done them himself for reasons of diffidence or disbelief. For instance in Nassa this elder functioned as a rain-maker with the tacit approval of the

chief, although it was not one of his hereditary functions. As the chief-elect might have been a poor man before his election, the expenses of the installation were borne by the court elders and the presents given to the chief after his enthronement were taken by them to defray this outlay.

On the last morning, when the chief came out of his house to go before his people, one of the elders threw down in the doorway seeds from all the crops grown in the chiefdom, and the chief trod them into the ground before going inside again. This ceremony was repeated in the evening.

In Ilemera the chief after his installation paraded before his people in warlike clothes and with bow and arrows, possibly to suggest that he had conquered his enemies in war, even though he might never have taken part in a battle, and also that within the chiefdom he had obtained his position because of his skill and strength.

A man was chosen in each chiefdom to act as ritual father of the chief even though the chief's own father might still be alive. This man had the right to swear at and criticize the chief, if he misbehaved, without incurring punishment, and this provided a sanction against strong personal rule by the chief.

After the chief had been installed, he and the court elders took a goat down to the graves of the previous chiefs, and, after strangling it, they collected its blood and poured it on each grave. After the chief had made an invocation to the ancestor spirits to ask for good fortune during his reign, the dung from the animal was thrown over the graves and all the meat eaten there and nothing thrown away.

2. THE INSTALLATION AT NASSA IN 1927.

Now follows an account of his own installation by the present chief of Nassa.

During the old chief's funeral, the court elders selected the new chief from among the children of the deceased, choosing the informant who was then an unmarried boy who was still at school, and he was seized from behind by an official.

The chief-elect was then segregated in a small isolated hut in which he stayed until the next full moon. He was kept company night and day by some court elders but he received no instruction. A fire was kept up all the time and he was not allowed to speak to commoners and he performed his natural functions inside the hut, these being removed by the elders and disposed of secretly.

On the night of the next full moon the ritual companion carried the chief-elect in secret on his back as if he were a child from the hut into the chief's official house, as far as the centre post of the house which the chief-elect held on to for a while before getting down to the ground. He spent that night with an unmarried girl selected from a different clan.

This girl's father was paid ten cattle for providing the girl of the one night and afterwards she was married to a relative of the chief without any further bride-price being paid; if she had married a man of another lineage, the husband could have been sued for adultery. After the night she had spent with the chief she had no further dealings with him, although it was not forbidden for them to meet.

They were both naked and lay on lion skins and would have been allowed to have intercourse once, but as the chief-elect was a young boy they only went through the movements. After this he rubbed oil on her who in turn rubbed oil on a small drum (*ngoma ya ilemelo*), which was one of the chief's drums kept in his official residence. The whole procedure took place in the presence of the senior court elder and some other elders. Later in the chief's life, when the skin of this drum split, this girl was fetched to put on a new cover cut from a black cow's hide.

Next morning the chief-elect, wearing bark sandals, the girl and the senior court elder all bathed in water brought in to them in a rain-maker's earthenware pot. Then the senior elder who was a practising magician (*nfumo*) shaved the chief-elect and the girl and buried their hair near water. Finally the senior court elder put an armband of black cow-hide on to the right

arm of the chief-elect, the colour black being associated with rain clouds.

The court elders then took the small drum and the chief-elect, who carried bow and arrows and wore black cow-hide sandals, to a secret place in the bush near to the chief's official residence. He was then given formal instruction on his behaviour as a chief and was sworn in to the beat of this drum, each stroke of which signified his acceptance of a particular precept. The chief had now been formally installed and he went in state from this place in the bush to the public dancing ground (*lugaya*) where war songs were being sung amid scenes of rejoicing. He was now dressed in reddish cloth and wore a hide cap. He climbed alone on to the drum rack while the drums were being beaten, and the senior court elder announced his official name. He then returned to his official house in procession, escorted by the ritual companion, the girl of the one night and the court elders.

At the gate of the chief's compound the ritual companion formally swore at the chief and then everyone present swore at everyone else in a burst of obscenity. This was the last duty of the companion and he was never allowed to see the chief again; in fact, the chief was extremely nervous of seeing him again and the companion had only to wander about near the chief's compound to be asked what he wanted and to be given it at once in order to avoid a meeting.

There is only one ritual companion appointed for each reign, and in this case he received only two head of cattle although the correct payment should have been five head.

This man is still alive now and has never seen the chief again. This ritual avoidance has even gone so far that, although he happened to be one of the main contestants in a case in the chief's court, the ritual companion appeared by proxy.

As the chief entered his house the man who seized him on his election grabbed his clothes and threw a lion skin over him; this act completed the ceremonies and these clothes together with five head of cattle were the accepted payment for this official's duties.

3. THE INSTALLATION AT BUKUMBI IN 1944.

On the death of the chief, his son, who was a boy of 14 years, was elected to succeed him. The late chief and this boy were Roman Catholics, and the chief's official residence was within a short distance of a Catholic Mission which had been founded before the German administration was established.

The chief-elect was first secluded in a small hut for three days during which period a fire was kept alight and there were always some court elders in attendance. The period of seclusion, which was alleged to have been short because of his age, was in fact terminated with the new moon; he then went by night to the chief's official compound several miles away, accompanied only by the senior court elder. The move was carried out secretly to prevent people from bewitching the new chief.

During his seclusion he received no instruction and had no contact with anyone other than the court elders. The girl of the one night was brought to him there and spent the night in the house but there is alleged to have been no contact between them, neither intercourse nor ritual washing.

On the next morning when a large crowd had gathered, the chief-elect, wearing lion and colobus skins and a reddish cloth, and with red ochre on his face, came out of the house carrying a bow and arrows and accompanied by the court elders carrying spears. The chief-elect fired an arrow into the ground and said "I shoot the land so as to make you understand that whatever happens in my presence, I can settle it." He then went inside where the senior court elder fastened on his chiefly wrist band (*kitunga*).

As soon as this happened the chief, who was now regarded as being formally installed, came out again and ran to a nearby area of open ground where the public celebrations were to take place, accompanied by everyone present also running. The chief ran in order to show that he could move swiftly to wherever trouble lay. The chief's drums had been erected there, and when he appeared they began to beat and con-

tinued for some days. The chief and the court elders danced in front of the drums until the senior court elder stopped them to announce the completion of the installation, which the chief reiterated by giving out his official name, Ilago II, both giving short speeches full of sexual and warlike similes.

The chief then sat on a one-legged stool and many of those who were present came to greet him as befitted his new office and to give him small presents, after which he returned in state to his official residence. This ended the ceremony, but public celebrations went on for some time afterwards. This description was given by the chief himself and shows a ceremony curtailed by external influences not because of the character of the chief himself but because of generalized Christian influence affecting all the participants. The ritual companion took no part in the ceremony but took up his duties subsequently. No ritual father and other officials functioning elsewhere, were appointed in this case.

The ritual companion was a relative of the chief-elect (they had the same paternal grandfather) and was about the same age, and he was given no option but to take on this role. The ritual companion of the previous chief, although he was still alive, gave him no instruction, but he received help from the elders during the first year. The chief was given the opportunity of agreeing to the choice of this person. The ritual companion was instructed:

- (a) how to clean the chief's ancestor-worshipping articles;
- (b) how to beat the biggest of the chief's drums;
- (c) how the drums were to be looked after;
- (d) to accompany the chief everywhere, for instance nowadays, to meet him at the station when he comes back for holidays from his boarding school;
- (e) to build the ancestor shrines (*shigabiro*) at the chief's house;
- (f) to asperge the chief before ancestor ceremonies which he himself does not attend (but this is not done now as they are both Christians);

- (g) to shave his hair when the chief does;
- (h) to have a parish to administer during the chief's reign (which is not done nowadays owing to local government regulations);
- (i) to be sent on special missions by the chief within the chiefdom.

On his marriage the chief and the companion's father paid equal shares of the bride-price; he is usually referred to as the small chief (*ntemi ndo*).

4. THE INSTALLATION AT ILEMERA, 1954

According to present-day local government practice the new chief was elected from a list of self-nominated candidates from the chiefly clans at a meeting of elected and nominated elders representing the court elders (*banangoma*), the headmen (*banangwa*) and commoners from all the parishes in the chiefdom. The chief-elect was an unmarried Roman Catholic youth of about 25 years who had received a primary school education and who had been up to the time of his elections a local government clerk.

After the deceased chief's funeral and before this formal election some of the court elders under the direction of a former senior elder held a chicken entrail divination. The chief who had reigned before the recently dead chief, had been deposed by Government and was still alive and living in the chiefdom causing much quarrelling which resulted in a clique of elders not attending the chief's funeral. The young man who was to be elected had been nominated for the chieftainship by the late chief on his death-bed and this divination was to find out whether the ancestors would therefore be angry. Although this was a semi-secret affair the party supporting the deceased chief's nominee sent two elders as observers.

By custom the chief could not be nominated so that four chickens were put ready for use, all of medium size and not chicks as is usually the case; they represented the deposed chief, the heir by primogeniture and two other claimants one of whom was the late chief's nominee. The entrails of only the first two chickens were examined and accompanied by a *Zinza* form of

divination carried out by throwing beads on the ground to confirm the entrail inspection. This resulted in the deceased chief's nomination being confirmed. The chiefly clan was said to have come from Uzinza, which accounted for this method of divination.

Only a few of the hereditary court elders were allowed to take part in the chief's election but they escorted him to the chief's official residence immediately after his election had been acknowledged by the administrative officer present. He remained there all next day while the elders built a small bee-hive hut about 25 yards from the main building. This type of hut was used by their forebears but is now only to be seen in the compounds of magicians. The hut had no magic rites or medicines associated with its construction, but, while they were building it, the elders were formally dressed in the hides usually worn during ancestor propitiation ceremonies. The chief-elect was not segregated during this period but the compound contained few people other than the elders.

Before sunrise on the next morning the elders formed themselves into two lines from the doorway of the old chief's house, and the chief-elect passed between them in silence to enter the hut. He was accompanied by a youth of about ten years of age who had been selected by the elders to be the chief's ritual companion.

The ritual companion according to the elders was a boy too young to have known a woman; he must have only one surviving parent or divorced parents who would receive the same dues and respect as if they were the parents of a chief, a position which could be inherited. His duties now appear to be just companionship.

The chief-elect stayed in this hut with his companion for two complete days during which neither of them appeared outside. It was not a period of instruction but of segregation; nor was it a time of great solemnity, and a portable gramophone was often heard playing inside. During these two days the chief-elect's food was cooked by his relatives and eaten in company with his companion and the senior elder as well as with a brother of the late chief. He

was not allowed to talk to anyone other than these men and the other court elders. There was no public interest in this period except on the first day there was a formal presentation of food to the household from each parish in which 200 people took part.

Before sunrise on the morning of the installation, the elders stood around the doorway of the hut so that no stranger could see the chief-elect and his companion seated in the doorway on a black cow-hide surrounded by the former's male relatives. The chief's ritual father took them by the hand and led them out of the compound into the scrub on the hillside behind the compound. In this scrub another small hut had been prepared. There the senior elder, dressed in a leopard skin, shaved with a new razor the heads of the chief-elect, his companion and his ritual father as well as an elder who had brought a bowl of mud and water to the hut beforehand. The senior elder put a leopard skin on the chief-elect and gave him a spear and bow and arrows to hold. Everyone present then ate food which had been prepared in the house of one of the elders. Afterwards the senior elder sat with the chief-elect in the hut and gave him formal instruction on his duties, warning him against favouritism and arrogance and advising him to be charitable and not laugh at the misfortunes of others.

The whole party then returned to the first hut by a different path with an elder throwing wet mud directly in the path of the chief-elect who was preceded by the elder who had fetched his ritual father and followed by the other elders. After the chief-elect, accompanied by his companion and the senior elder, had rested there for a while he came out of the hut again and fired an arrow towards the west. On his re-entering the hut the senior elder put an amulet of cow-hide on his wrist.

The chief now seemed to have been installed and he sat on a one-legged stool, symbolizing unity of the chieftom, in the doorway of the hut with his companion beside him and a basket in front of him. Then everyone who wanted to, starting with the senior elder and continuing down through all the elders, headmen, male and

female relatives and members of the general public, all threw a small amount of money into the basket and made the formal greeting of the common people to a chief. An amount of about £20 was collected and this went to the elders who had gone to the expense of installing the chief. People who wished to seek favour waited a few days before bringing their gifts when the chief was clear of the installation ceremonies.

The chief's drums were then beaten in recognition of his installation and the chief himself danced in front of them for about two hours holding the spear and bow; after this he rested while the drums (*ngoma lya lubamba*) were carried out to the public dancing ground. Then his ritual father hit him on the head with a small drum and warned him that from now on everyone including his mother and father would be afraid of him. This man was the only person who has the right to criticize the chief, and he has to be present at all the ceremonies in which the chief takes part. The chief's male relatives brought some cold water and the chief splashed a little over everyone present in imitation of rain, after which he was sworn in on the small drum by the senior court elder and told the official name which the court elders had chosen for him. The small drum which is never used for any purpose other than this, is never cleaned or rubbed with oil.

The chief then went to the public dancing ground, and climbing on to the drum rack, he announced his official name and made a short speech as follows. "Let all the people know that I have become greatest of all in the land of the lake and that I have become a chief. Now you should fear me more than you fear your fathers and mothers. It is better for anyone who is my enemy or who does not want me to rule, to leave my land and to live where he has found another to be his chief. But for those who recognize me as their chief we shall live together in peace and friendliness as is customary between a chief and his people. That is all, my brothers; from today fear me and give me true respect and my name will be *Balyeka*". He stayed there about three hours and then returned in procession to his

house together with his companion, ritual father and court elder. This concluded the ceremony.

5. THE INSTALLATION AT USUKUMA, 1954

As in the previous installation at Ilemera, the new chief was elected under procedure laid down by Government and was then taken by the court elders to a pre-arranged compound away from his official residence. The chief-elect had once been a tailor and then for some years a parish headman; he was married and a Roman Catholic.

Here he was segregated in a separate house with six of his court elders comprising the following: the putter-on of the chief's ritual wrist band and his assistant, the elder who blessed the chief-elect, two elders who instructed him in his duties, and another elder who waited on the group.

The other elders went all over the chiefdom giving out the date of the installation ceremony and making other preparations. The chief's ritual companion was in another house during this period and seems to have taken little part in the ceremonies. Owing to the chief's religious beliefs there was no girl of the one night; nor was an official wife selected after the installation. They may also have accounted for the brevity of the ceremony.

Soon after dawn on the installation day (*lushiku wa nila*) a black bull was killed and skinned by the elders for the making of further wrist bands when the original should wear out. From early morning the chief's drums (*milango*) were beaten on the public dancing ground nearby so that the day of the ceremony would be confirmed to all within hearing as well as to announce the appointment of a new chief.

The chief-elect and his wife together with his ritual companion then went into a small enclosure to one side of the compound and were shaved by the senior elder and his assistant. Their hair was kept by the elder and not thrown away. A strip of hide with a white round stone was put on the wrist of the chief's companion and the senior court elder.

They then returned to the main house, where

the chief sat on a one-legged stool (*kiti sha itemelo*) and the elder whose function was once to call upon the royal ancestors to support the new chief, formally lectured the chief-elect on his duties, telling him to have no favourites, and to love all his people as well as to listen to his councillors. No rituals associated with ancestor worship took place in this installation.

After a pause for food the chief put on a leopard skin, and, holding two spears and a wildebeest's tail fly whisk and accompanied by his wife in her finest clothes, moved off to the dancing ground. His wife walked on his left and on their left and right respectively walked the putter-on of the arm-band and his assistant; they were preceded by an elder and followed by the elder who had lectured him on his duties.

On arrival at the dancing ground the chief and his wife walked up and down in state in front of the drums; then they both climbed on to the drum rack where he made a speech asking for their respect and affection as well as announcing his official name. A few people then formally greeted him as a chief but he refused to dance in front of the drums because he considered it unseemly in a chief although his court elders asked him to do so. After his return to the chief's house in similar state, everyone present formally

greeted him as a chief. He then took off his chiefly clothes and went out dressed as a commoner to look at the festivities.

Next morning the chief held a meeting with the court elders and his relatives in which he was told that he must shave his head only once in the year in his own compound in the presence of some of his elders and to accompany it with a brewing of beer. Two elders then escorted him to the local court in which the chief had his office which completed the ceremonies.

This installation of a mature man with a mind and beliefs of his own, was a ceremony in which the court elders, normally the maintainers of custom, were not able to conduct ritual according to their own ideas.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The ritual in the ceremonies recorded shows variations because although the chiefdoms concerned are now geographically contiguous and share an increasingly similar culture, each dominant lineage had a different history, and the passage of time has modified their respective mythological characters. Nevertheless the table shows that they have many common elements.

RITUAL OCCURRENCE IN DIFFERENT CEREMONIES

	1 Before 1900	2 Nassa 1927	3 Bukumbi 1944	4 Ilemera 1954	5 Usukuma 1954
1. Death of chief concealed	x	—	—	—	—
2. Divination in choice of chief . .	x	—	—	(x)*	—
3. Seizure of new chief	x	x	—	—	—
4. Seclusion of new chief	x	x	x	x	x
5. Ritual companion functioned . .	x	x	—	x	x
6. Shaving of chief and others . .	x	x	x	x	x
7. Official consort chosen	x	—	—	—	—
8. Girl of the one night used	x	x	(x)	—	—
9. Formal greeting of chief by public	x	x	x	x	x
10. Private swearing-in of chief . .	x	x	x	x	(x)
11. Formal abuse of chief	x	x	—	—	—
12. Worship of ancestors	x	—	—	—	—

*Brackets indicate questionable occurrences.

In an analysis of these installation ceremonies, the functions of the modern chief must be set aside almost entirely because his authority rests in the main on the power of the central government; and the residue of his ritual activities no longer serve any fundamental purpose for the well-being of his chieftom.

Prior to the introduction of muzzle loading guns and the coming of European suzerainty, it is doubtful if a Sukuma chief wielded any political power since he was not the head of an administration nor the principal executive of a unified state; even in judicial matters he appears to have functioned as the chairman of a judicial board controlled by his councillors in which he had no predominant power nor any initiative of his own on important matters.

The chief was once the leader of the politico-religious life of the community and not a ruler, the embodiment of chieftainship rather than a chief in his own personal right although he was also the leader of the dominant lineage of the chieftom and an individual with a personal set of kinship obligations.

Although there are legends of the killing of aged chiefs it is unlikely that this occurred, and more likely that they were deposed because of their unsuccessful control of natural forces or died from disease before their physical powers had diminished. This was probably the case until the balance of power was upset by firearms. Then the precariousness of the chief's position became exemplified in the reluctance of individuals to take on the office of chief, his hesitancy being symbolized perhaps in his capture. The relative unimportance of the chosen individual would suggest that initially he was a pawn in the power politics of the chieftom.

One of the fundamentals of a binding public decision by the Sukuma, both now and formerly, is that those making it should be unanimous. The election of a chief is no exception, and it is probable that when a decision was locked, the long process of divination allowed for re-alignments of the power pattern of the chieftom in much the same way as voting at an American political convention allows for such readjustments.

The installation seems to have been a period of tense transition rather than one of immediate danger with the chief-elect gradually assuming his position of ritual power. This release of tension from the possibilities of external evil was brought about by the return to the ritual unity of the tribe of its most essential element. The idea of immediate threatening danger was not present in the ceremony, but the chieftom was unprotected and its unity, exemplified in the method of reaching decisions, was essential to its ritual life which insured its welfare.

Although the chiefly insignia were passed on to the chief-elect and the ceremonies consisted of a well-defined series of rites, it is not possible to state clearly when essence of chieftainship passed into the chosen person. The period of seclusion may have reduced the chief-elect to a negative state typical of a rite of passage into which his ritual powers could be introduced. He was carried out of the hut of seclusion on the back of a functionary who was called the "after-birth" in an act of rebirth which joined the chief and the chieftainship in one individual.

The only localized lineage in a chieftom was that producing the chiefs and almost all the headmen, and also the only one to trace its descent back to its founder with any degree of mythological certitude. This dominance carried with it the politico-religious integration of the chieftom through the person of the chief on whom the welfare of everyone depended.

These political units had little liaison between them, and the chiefs do not seem to have regarded themselves as holding equivalent or parallel ranks; at none of the ceremonies recorded did the chiefs of adjacent chieftoms attend as spectators nor was any use made of ritual power from magicians outside the chieftom: joking relationship occurs not between dominant lineages in neighbouring chieftoms but between those in widely separated ones.

Undoubtedly the main ritual function of the chief as exemplified in these ceremonies, was to insure the well-being of his people by reaching a state of adjustment with divine forces rather than by any attempt at controlling them. It

seems to have been a process of deflecting the consequences of sin by a continuous and painstaking attention to ritual rules of which few still remain.

At one time the chief and the senior elder may have had complementary roles in ritual collaboration in which the latter functioned as the father of the soil; and the prosperity of the chiefdom may have depended on the joint strength of these two ritual roles. Only traces of this relationship remain in the ceremonies of recent date where the senior elder was called upon to shave the chief-elect. At times of approaching disaster such as a drought in Nassa in 1953, the senior elder came into prominence again and organized the rain-making ceremonies for the benefit of the entire chiefdom.

The ritual of the installation has become increasingly thin and irregular because in the face of the encroachments of a materialist culture and of alien religions, the majority of Sukuma and the chiefs themselves see no point in prolonged ceremonies. Indeed the latter appear to go through with a shadow ritual to satisfy their own egos and those of their elders rather than

as a function for a reassertion of communal unity.

The central government's desire for and insistence on stability has lengthened the time between installations with the result that the correct functionary for a particular ritual is often no longer living and is almost inevitably based on fading memories since very few if any elders have seen the full ritual.

It is suggested that the installation ritual will continue to decay in times of political stability but when there are internal disputes as at Ilemera in 1954 or natural disasters as at Nassa in 1953 these rituals and fresh ones will again be temporarily but nevertheless wholeheartedly revived.

A further impetus to their decay as a unifying and stabilizing element in the chiefdom is the lack of interest shown in them by the central government and the non-attendance at them of any government officials. The modified ceremonies of modern times contain little contrary to western morals, and might well serve a useful and steady purpose in the political life of the people if Government and Christian Missions were officially represented at them.

VERNACULAR TERMS FOR INSTALLATION DIGNITARIES BY AREAS

CHIEFDOMS

	<i>Nassa</i>	<i>Ilemera</i>	<i>Bukumbi</i>	<i>Sukuma</i>
Ritual companion	Kiheka	Kiheka	Kiheka	Kiheka
Senior court elder	Ngabe	Ngabe	Ngabe	Ngabe
Official consort	Ngole wa Kitongo	Nkima Witemelo	—	Ngole
Senior wife	Ngole wa Kishoko	{ Nkima wa Witolele Ngole wa Kotongo Nkima wa Buswa	—	Ngole
Girl of the one night	Nyalu- bambe	Nyihanga Ngole wa Chojo	Nyihanga	—
Ritual father of chief	—	Nyalubambe	—	—
Siezer of chief	Kipondya	—	—	—

THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF ZULU

A. T. COPE*

SYNOPSIS

This is an attempt to apply strictly the criterion of form, in order to give an alternative to the traditional "form and function" analysis of Zulu. The author is therefore following the school of Guthrie rather than that of Doke. The main distinction is seen to be between nominals and verbals, as defined by Prof. Guthrie. Nominals belong either to a short series where the root is found with a limited range of prefixes (independent nominals or nouns), or to a long series where the root is found with the full range of prefixes or concords (dependent nominals, which are formally subdivided into pronouns, adjectives, and also demonstratives). There is a third type of nominal falling outside the system of grammatical agreement; this is subdivided into adverbs and conjunctions. In this analysis adverbs constitute a form-class and not a meaning-class, so that many words traditionally regarded as "adverbs" are here regarded either as nouns or as inflected nominals. "Possessives" are also regarded as inflected nominals. For the same reason, words traditionally treated as "conjunctions" are here treated as conjunctions, conjunctive adverbs and deficient verbs. Copulative nouns and nominals are not regarded as constituting a part of speech by themselves, either verbal or nominal, and a parallel is drawn between copulative nominals (nominals used verbally) and relative verbs (verbs used nominally). The wide range of verbal inflections is not considered in detail, but an outline is given.

Form is generally regarded by modern linguists as the criterion *par excellence*, if not the only criterion for grammatical analysis. Since the study of language became the science of linguistics, a noun is no longer defined as a word expressing the substance and a verb as a word expressing the action. A part of speech is a grammatical category characterized by certain formal features which vary from language to language even within the language family. It is a form-class and not a meaning-class. Meaning is for many reasons an unsatisfactory basis for analysis of a scientific sort, particularly in that it is too subjective, but the formal features of a grammatical category are objectively evident. As Bloomfield says: "To accept definitions of meaning in place of identification in formal terms is to abandon scientific discourse".

Function as a criterion for grammatical analysis involves either form or meaning. It does not stand apart as an alternative to the application of either form or meaning. Traditionally, nouns and verbs are classified on the basis of meaning, and adjectives and adverbs on the

basis of function, which is to qualify nouns and verbs respectively. But this function depends upon a knowledge of the meaning, and meaning is the real basis, as it is with nouns and verbs. On the other hand the function of a pronoun is to stand instead of a noun, and here function is form, not form on the morphological level but form nevertheless, form on the level of syntax. This type of function falls within the scope of this article, but to avoid confusion the term "function" is not used at all, and the term "form" is used to refer to morphological form (the sort of form that can be set out in paradigm, paradigmatic form) and to syntactical form (syntagmatic form).

Once the language has been fully analysed on the criterion of form, there is no harm in using the traditional terms to describe the parts of speech, notwithstanding their old associations. In this article the terms *noun*, *pronoun*, *adjective*, *adverb*, *verb*, are used to refer to grammatical categories characterized by certain formal features, and where traditional terms are lacking, Professor Doke's terms (ideophone, and many

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others) and Professor Guthrie's (nominal, verbal, particle) are used.¹

At some stage there must be an attempt to identify the grammatical categories (not only the parts of speech, but also the conjugations, moods, tenses; declensions, cases; gender and number), these units of the "expression" system, with points in the "content" system, to correlate form with meaning, and this involves the perennial problem of the relationship between word and idea, speech and thought. To a certain extent it is true that nouns are naming words expressing the substance, whether concrete or abstract, and verbs are doing words expressing the action. Adjectives do describe the noun qualificatively, and in Zulu where this part of speech is formally subdivided, some may be said to describe the outer quality, e.g. big and small, long and short, the numbers ("adjectives") and others the inner quality, e.g. sweet and bitter, strong and honest, the colours ("relatives"). This correlation can never be anything but rough and ready at the present state of knowledge, but the light it throws on world-view and the relationship between language and culture, language being the most essential part of culture, makes it an important aspect of the study of language. However, metalinguistic considerations are beyond the scope of this article, which is confined to the formal analysis of the grammatical structure of Zulu.

From "the mush of general goings-on" (Professor J. R. Firth) which constitutes the spoken language of Zulu, the words—previously identified on formal grounds—may first of all be divided into "words with agreement" and "words without agreement", the former showing themselves to be part of a system of grammatical agreement operating by means of prefixes, and the latter giving no such indication, being quite unrelated by formal inflection to any other word in the sentence. The former division may again be subdivided into nominals and verbals, the

two great grammatical categories of Bantu languages which Professor Guthrie characterizes as follows: Nominals, by the phonetic structure CV or CVCV or CVCVCV of the root; by the possibility of assuming extra prefixes (in Zulu both outside the system of grammatical agreement, e.g. *na-*, and *nga-*, *yi-*, *y-* and *ng-*, and within, i.e. the possessive prefixes); by the fact that grammatical support may be achieved only by means of concords, e.g. Zulu *izimpondo zozimbili ezinkulu ezimhlophe zenkabi* (both big white horns of the ox); and by the rare occurrence of the personal concords; Verbals, by the phonetic structure C or CVC or CVCVC of the root; by the possibility of assuming infixes (in Zulu both outside the system of grammatical agreement, e.g. *-sa-*, *-ka-*, *-nga-*, and within, i.e. the object concords); by the fact that grammatical support may be achieved either with or without concords, e.g. Zulu *Uyayiqhuba inkabi* (He is driving the ox) or *Uqhuba inkabi* (He drives an ox); and by the common occurrence of the personal concords.

Nominals are subdivided into independent nominals, where the root² has a limited range of prefixes, lexically determined, e.g. *-ntu*: *umu-ntu* (person), *aba-ntu* (people), *isi-ntu* (human culture), *ubu-ntu* (human nature); and dependent nominals, where the root has the full range of prefixes in agreement with the thirteen noun classes of Zulu, and therefore grammatically determined. Independent nominals are called nouns. Dependent nominals are again subdivided on formal grounds into parts of speech called pronouns, adjectives, and demonstratives, all of which may be used with or without and before or after the noun upon which they are dependent. Pronouns (the absolute in *-na* (self), the inclusive in *-nke* (all), the exclusive in *-dwa* (only), and the numeral pronouns with adjectival stems, *-babili* (both—Class 2), *-mathathu* (all three—Class 6), *-zinhlanu* (all five—Class 10, etc.) are characterized by the prefix in "O",

¹The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor C. M. Doke's *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar* and *Zulu Syntax* and to Professor M. Guthrie for his lectures on Bantu Grammar given at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

²Read "root or stem" for "root" throughout the article.

by the special personal prefixes, and by the fact that the absolute pronoun drops its root (-*na*) on prefixal inflection, and the other pronouns cannot be inflected at all except by way of the absolute pronoun, e.g. *nabo bonke* (with them all—Class 2), *ngayo yodwa* (by means of it only—Class 9), *kuzo zozintathu* (to all three of them—Class 10). Adjectives are subdivided into adjectives proper, noun adjectives (constituting an obsolete sort of relative copulative construction, hence the personal concords; but a separate part of speech because many of the roots are no longer used in nouns at all), and interrogative adjectives (-*phi?*, which particular thing?, -*ni?*, what sort of thing?, and also -*nye*, one single thing), according to the different sets of roots and the different sets of prefixes used with each set of roots respectively. Demonstratives are characterized by the fact that there are no roots; in fact the demonstrative is simply a “free” concord stabilized by the foregoing “I” consonant, whereas all other concords are “bound” in the form of prefixes. However demonstratives behave as nominals in every way.

Nominals may be inflected by the addition of extra prefixes, prefixes which are extra to the prefixes always associated with the nominal roots, and which are either within or without the system of grammatical agreement. These inflected nominals do not constitute a part of speech separate from the nominals from which they are formed: they are simply inflected nominals¹. The possessive prefixes are part of the system of grammatical agreement. They are extra prefixes in that they are prefixed to the whole word (prefix+root) whereas the other prefixes (noun, pronoun, adjective) are prefixed directly to the root. Furthermore they may be prefixed to all nominals whereas the other prefixes may only be prefixed to the roots of the part of speech to which they belong. The possessive prefixes perform the function of bringing two nominals into grammatical relationship with

one another. These examples, *izandla zezingane* (the babies’ hands), *izandla zabancane* (the hands of the little ones) and *izandla zabamhlophe* (the hands of the white ones), the last two referring to *abantwana* (children), exemplify the foregoing points. The possessive nominal normally follows the controlling nominal in word order, e.g. *inja yendoda* (the man’s dog), *ezimhlophe zenkosi* (the white ones of the chief) and *izimpondo zezimhlophe* (the horns of the white ones), the last two referring to *izinkomo* (cattle), but where it stands before the nominal or without it altogether, the controlling nominal is represented by the concord vowel, e.g. *eyendoda inja* (the man’s dog, the man’s and no one else’s), *ezenkosi* (the chief’s, referring to the white ones) and *ezezimhlophe* (the white ones’, referring to the horns).

The extra prefixes, *na-* (with) and *nga-* (by means of) and also *kuna-* (rather than), *njenga-* (just like), *nganga-* (the same size as), are outside the system of grammatical agreement. Although the inflected nominal can no longer occur as subject or object of the verb, it still retains its power of controlling agreement over other words, e.g. *nesigqoko sami esikhulu esimnyana* (with my big black hat). In this respect the locative extra prefixes, *ku-*, *e-* and *o-*, are interesting, for locative nominals (formed from nouns by prefixing *e-* or *o-* and suffixing *-ini*, and from nouns of the personal gender and all other nominals by prefixing *ku-*) can still occur as subject or object of the verb. However, whereas all other concords are in agreement with the original noun class of the nominal, the subject and object verbal concords are in agreement with the locative class to which the nominal now belongs by virtue of the locative inflection, e.g. *Endlini yami encane kuyashisa, kodwa kwenkulu yakhe kupholile* (In my little hut it is hot, but in his big one it is cool). The words *endlini* (in the hut—locative noun) and *kwenkulu* (in the big one—locative adjective) are obviously

¹These extra prefixes may be compared to the suffixes of Latin. However, whereas the latter vary not only according to case, number and gender, but also according to the five declensions, the extra prefixes express the category of case only and all nouns are declined in the same way. The categories of gender and number are expressed by the noun prefixes and the dependent concord prefixes. The possessive prefixes combine both functions to express not only case but also gender and number.

nominals as they behave as such in every way.

The extra prefixes, *yi-* (before a consonant), *y-* (before *i*), and *ng-* (before *a*, *e*, *o*, *u*), are stabilizers in Zulu, and by virtue of this inflection the nominal may stand as a complete sentence. They behave in exactly the same way as the extra prefixes, *na-* and *nga-*, not only in that the inflected nominal can no longer occur as subject or object of the verb, but also in tonal behaviour. It has to be noted with regard to the inflection of nouns that the prefixes are not always these fixed prefixes outside the system of grammatical agreement, but sometimes concord prefixes within the system, e.g. *itshe* (stone): *yitshe* or *litshe* (it is a stone); *uthi* (stick): *luthi* (it is a stick); but this in no way alters the situation. These inflected nominals are sometimes called "copulatives", presumably because of the fact that the base of the copulative nominal (the nominal with verbal concords prefixed to it) is very often the stable form of the nominal, as it is with uninflected nouns, possessive nominals, adjectives, demonstratives, and absolute pronouns, e.g. *bangabantwana* (they are children), *bangabethu* (they are ours), *bangabancane* (they are the little ones), *sasiyilabobantu* (we were those people) and *sasiyibo* (we were they); but it is not so with inflected nominals in *na-* and *nga-*, locative nominals, and the other pronouns, and also adverbs, where the non-stable form of the nominal is used in copulative construction, e.g. *banezincwadi* (they have books), *baphandle* (they are outside), *basesikoleni* (they are at school), *sisonke* (we are all) and *sisodwa* (we are alone), and the copulative conjugation of *khona*, e.g. *ukhona* (he is here) and *ubekhona* (he was here). These stable nominals are capable of copulative use in the same way as the inflected nominals in *na-* and *nga-*, with which they are to be directly compared.

Tonal grammar bears out this analysis of the extra prefixes, for the prefixes *na-* and *nga-*, *yi-*, *y-* and *ng-*, behave identically tonally, e.g. *impahla* (goods): *nempahla* and *yimpahla*; *indaba* (affair): *nendaba* and *yindaba*; *igula* (calabash): *negula* and *yigula*.¹ The locative prefixes on the

other hand, which transfer the nominal from its original class to the locative class, assume the tone of the syllable they replace, and behave tonally as that syllable. The possessive prefixes behave differently again.

Verbals consist of verbs only. Verbs and "copulatives" are usually classed together, sometimes on the criterion of form in that "copulatives" have verbal characteristics, e.g. the use of verbal concords, and sometimes on the criterion of meaning in that they are both predicative in function. Here in this analysis the "copulative" is not regarded as a part of speech in its own right because it has no distinctive roots and prefixes of its own, its roots being nominal and its prefixes being verbal. It is regarded as the nominal in copulative construction. By definition it is nomino-verbal as it has the characteristics of both nominals and verbals. The verb in relative construction is also nomino-verbal. In Zulu nominals may be used verbally by the prefixing of verbal concords in copulative construction, and verbs may be used nominally by the prefixing of nominal concords in relative construction. The conjugation of copulative nominals is far more limited than that of verbs, for the simple reason that the roots are nominal and therefore cannot be inflected as verb roots. There are certain other differences to be noted too, such as the occurrence of the infixes *-sa-* and *-nga-* as *-se-* and *-nge-*, and the long vowels of subject concords in dependent tenses, e.g. *uma efika* (if he comes), and *uma eekhona* (if he is there), *uma engafiki* (if he does not come), and *uma eengekho* (if he is not there). Relative verbs on the other hand behave as dependent nominals not only morphologically as in the inflection by extra prefixes, e.g. *nabahambayo* (with the travellers), *ngabafikileyo* (it is the new arrivals), *kwabahlalayo* (to the inhabitants), but also syntactically in that inflected nominals in *na-* and *nga-*, *yi-*, *y-* and *ng-*, which can control agreement over nominals but not over verbs, can control agreement over relative verbs, e.g. *nabantu abahambayo* (with the people who are travelling) and *ngumuntu*

¹The mark *á* indicates a high tone, and the marks *á* and *à* indicate rising and falling high tones.

ohambayo (by the person who is travelling). Copulative nominals and relative verbs still retain their respective inflections nevertheless, for the former are still nominals and the latter are still verbs.

The system of grammatical agreement based on the classification of nouns into noun classes runs through all these grammatical subdivisions of nominals and verbals. A noun class is therefore characterized not only by the noun prefix in its double or single form used with noun roots, but also by the noun prefix in its single form used with adjective roots, by the concord prefix used with possessive nominals (concord prefix + A), with pronouns (concord prefix + O), and with verbs as subject and object concords, by the concord vowel used with adjectives (excepting interrogative adjectives) and self-standing possessive nominals, and by the demonstratives. (See Chart, "The Agreement System of Zulu").

The "words without agreement" are subdivided into nominals without agreement and particles (ideophones and interjections), and the former are again subdivided into adverbs (adverbs proper and conjunctive adverbs) and conjunctions. Here it must be repeated that only formal features are admitted in this analysis as constituting valid distinctions between grammatical categories: nominals without agreement therefore constitute a form-class and not a meaning-class. The members of this class (adverbs and conjunctions) have nominal roots, some being derived from independent and dependent nominals, and others where there is no derivation, the roots being adverbial in the first instance, although always nominal in phonetic structure; and also nominal characteristics such as the use of extra prefixes. They are therefore regarded as a nominal part of speech, different from independent and dependent nominals in that they fall outside the system of grammatical agreement. The three divisions of nominals are therefore independent nominals (nouns), dependent nominals (pronouns, adjectives, demon-

stratives), and nominals without agreement (adverbs and conjunctions). Ideophones and interjections are then regarded as constituting a class by themselves, as they are neither nominal nor verbal, to be called particles. This is not simply a residual part of speech, however. Ideophones and interjections have this formal feature in common: they may give rise to verbs simply by the addition of the suffixes, *-ka* (intransitive), *-la* (transitive) and *-za* (causative).

Adverbs are subdivided into adverbs proper and conjunctive adverbs, which introduce subordinate clauses with dependent tenses. Adverbs proper may again be subdivided into five varieties which although superficially dissimilar are similar syntactically.

1. Adverbs derived from nominal roots by the addition of the adverbial prefixes, *ka-* to adjective roots, e.g. *kahle* (well, nicely), *kakhulu* (very, greatly); *kanjani* (how), *kanjalo* (thus); *kanye* (once); *ma-* to adjective and noun roots, e.g. *manje* (now), *mandulo* (formerly); *bu-* to adjective and noun roots, e.g. *budala* (long ago), *bude* (far), *buduze* (near), and also to verb roots, e.g. *bume* (standing up), *bulala* (lying down), *buhlala* (sitting down), an exceptional situation. Only the prefix *ka-* is still living in that it may be prefixed to any adjective root.¹

2. Adverbs derived from nominals by the elision of the initial vowel of the prefix, e.g. *kuphela* (only), *kuqala* (first), *kusasa* (tomorrow), *ntambama* (in the afternoon), *nyakenye* (last year, next year), *ndawonye* (in one place).

3. Five interrogative adverbial roots: *nini?* (when?), *ngani?* (why?), *na?* (?), which stand alone, and *-phi?* (where?) and *-ni?* (what?), which are used as enclitics to verbs and also with the extra prefixes. This use confirms the classification of adverbs as a nominal part of speech rather than as a part of speech quite separate from nominals and verbals, the extra prefixes being a characteristic feature of nominals.

4. Adverbs of uncertain origin, e.g. *futhi* (again), *phela* (indeed), *kalokhu* (now—prefix

¹There is one adverb, *kade*, which is exceptional in its use: it precedes the verb which is in a dependent tense, e.g. *Kade behamba* (They have just been going) and *Kade behambile* (They have just gone) (very recent past action); *Kade bahamba* (They went long ago) (very remote past action). It is an adverb proper and not a conjunctive adverb, because these are self-standing sentences.

THE AGREEMENT SYSTEM OF ZULU OPERATING BY MEANS OF PREFIXES

A. NOMINALS

B. VERBALS

1. Independent nominals				2. Dependent nominals													
Nouns		Concord prefix (CP)	Concord Vowel (CV)	(a) Pronouns			(b) Adjectives		(c) Demonstratives			Verbs		Rel. vbs.			
Double Prefix (DP)	Single Prefix (SP)			abs.	in-	ex-	adj-p	n-adj	?-adj	1-p	2-p	3-p	Poss. noms.	Cop. noms.			
umu	mu	ngi	e	mi* ithu ¹ /thi* kho ¹ /we* inu ¹ /ni* khe ¹ /ye*	— so no wo	nge* so we* no ye* bo	— — — — omu aba	(engi) (esi) (o) (eni) o aba	— — — — mu ba	L + n-adj cp. SP	1 + o —	1 + YA —	CP + A —	Sb.C.(=CP) —	Ob.C.(=CP) —	CV+Sb.C. ("strong")	
aga	fa	ngi	e	bo	wo	ye* bo	aba	aba	—	lo(na) laba lana le(na) lezi	lowo labo lawo leyo lezo	*lowaya labaya *lawaya leya leziya	wa ba a ya za	u/e ⁴ /a ⁵ ba/be ⁴ a/e ⁴ i zi	ngi si u ni u/e ⁴ /a ⁵ ba/be ⁴ a/e ⁴ i zi	ngi si u ni m* ba wa yi zi ku	engi o eni o ⁶ /a ⁷ aba a e ezi oku
uku	ku	ku	e	*kho ²	ko	ko	eziN oku	e ezi oku	ku	*lokhu *lapha	lokho lapho	lokhuya ³ laphaya ³	—	—	—	—	—
pha*	ku/e/o	ku	e	—	ko	ko	oku	oku	ku	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

¹Used with possessive prefixes only.²An adverb (< absolute pronoun) in present-day Zulu.³Adverbs (< demonstratives) in present-day Zulu.⁴Used in dependent tenses.⁵Used in subjunctive present tense.⁶Used in relative construction of direct relationship.⁷Used in relative construction of indirect relationship.

*Exceptions.

ka-?), *masinya* (soon—prefix *ma-*?), *njalo* (thus).

5. Adverbs morphologically identical with independent and dependent nominals but syntactically distinct in that they are quite outside the system of grammatical agreement, e.g. *izolo* (yesterday), *impela* and *imbala* (indeed, really), *nempela* and *nembala* (indeed, really), *namuhla* (today) and *ngomuso* (tomorrow). Here are also to be found the absolute pronoun *khona* (here or there) and the demonstratives in agreement with the locative class, *lokhu* and *lokho*, *lapha*, *lapho*, *laphaya*, where there are further formal features characterizing these words as adverbs in that the non-stable form is used in copulative construction as with all adverbs proper, and not the stable form as with the absolute pronouns and the demonstratives. These words are therefore adverbs and no longer used as the independent and dependent nominals from which they are derived.

These adverbs proper derived from the locative class, are frequently used in copulative construction. The case of *lokhu* is particularly interesting. It has completely lost all reference to "place", and when used in copulative construction followed by the verb in a dependent tense, it conveys the meaning of "always". It is sometimes therefore regarded as a deficient verb, some of which are followed by dependent tenses although most of them are followed by the subjunctive mood. However *lokhu* is without doubt an adverb proper and not a deficient verb, not only because its root is nominal, but also because it occurs in compound tenses and not in the simple perfect and past tenses which cannot occur in copulative construction, whereas deficient verbs occur in simple tenses and only very rarely in compound tenses. Furthermore the conjugation of *lokhu* displays the characteristics of the copulative conjugation distinguishing it from the verbal conjugation, including the long vowels of the subject concords in dependent

tenses, e.g. *uma beelokhu bekhala* (if they keep on crying), *uma siilokhu sihamba* (if we keep on travelling), to be compared with *uma beekhona* (if they are present) and *uma beengekho* (if they are absent), which no one doubts as forms of the copulative and not the verbal conjugation. Tonal grammar¹ seems to bear out this analysis too: *bālōkhu* [- -] *behamba* (they always travel) and *bāsūke* [- -] *bahambe* (they just go) (a tonal downstep with *lokhu* and a tonal upstep with *suke*) and *zīlōkhu* [' -] *zihamba* (they just go—Class 10) and *zisūke* [- -] *zihambe* (they just go—Class 10) (a tonal displacement with *suke* but not with *lokhu*).

Adverbs are classified as a nominal part of speech not only because of the close morphological relationship. There is also a close syntactical relationship between nouns (to limit the range of nominals for the present purpose) and adverbs, and nouns are often used in a way that can only be described as adverbial. Inflected nouns are particularly prone to be used thus, not that this distinguishes them to any great extent from uninflected nouns. Examples: *Wakhuluma isikhashana* (He spoke for a short time), *Wakhuluma nomlungu* (He spoke with a European), to be compared with the adverbs in *Wakhuluma kakhulu* (He spoke greatly), *Wakhuluma nyakenye* (He spoke last year), *Wakhuluma nini?* (When did he speak?); *Wahamba ibanga* (He went some way), *Wahamba ngenqola* (He went by wagon), to be compared with the adverbs in *Wahamba futhi* (He went again), *Wahamba izolo*² (He went yesterday); *Washaywa ikhanda* (He was hit on the head), *Washaywa yindoda* (He was hit by the man), to be compared with the adverbs in *Washaywa impela/nempela*³ (He was indeed hit). The nouns following the verbs, whether inflected or uninflected, are not the objects of those verbs as the use of object con-

¹Research is still in progress on the tonal grammar of verbs, copulative nominals and relative verbs.

²The mark < indicates a tonal displacement from the preceding syllable, and the marks v and ^ indicate tonal downsteps and upsteps.

³These adverbs, although morphologically identical with nouns, cannot be described as nouns used adverbially because they can never be used in any way other than adverbially; whereas nouns, although they may be used adverbially sometimes, are part of the system of grammatical agreement.

cords is impossible. This is described as the adverbial use of nouns.

The adverbial use of locative nouns is frequent too. The locative class is so irregular that it is best described as a class extra to the thirteen noun classes of Zulu. Its members, apart from the inflected nouns in *ku-*, *e-* and *o-*, which are members by virtue of the locative inflection, comprise the locative nouns in *pha-* (Bantu Class 16), e.g. *phambili* (in front of), *phakati* (inside, between), *phansi* (underneath), etc., and the locative nouns in *uku-* (Bantu Class 17), e.g. *ukunto* (something), *ukunene* (the right side), *ukunxele* (the left side). These nouns are members of the same locative class in Zulu, having its own regular set of concords. Even with the inflected locative nouns the regular agreements are sometimes found with words other than verbs, with which they are always found, e.g. *emuva kwami* (behind me), *endlini kwami* (in my house), *eduze kwendlu* (near to the house), *kude kwendlu* (far from the house); but usually *endlini yami* (agreement of the original class), *eduze nendlu* and *kude nendlu* (no agreement at all), thus showing the irregularity of the locative class. However, the adverbial use of locative nouns does not distinguish them from other nouns, as the following examples show: *Wahlala isikhashana* (cl. 7) (He stayed for a short time), *Wahlala phansi* (loc. cl.) (He sat down on the ground), *Wahlala esihlalweni* (loc. cl.) (He sat down on the chair); *Waligcwalisa amanzi ithunga* (cl. 6) (He filled the bucket with water), *Wayinquma phakathi intambo* (loc. cl.) (He cut the rope in the middle); with these nouns are to be compared the adverbs in: *Wahlala kanjani?* (How did he sit down?), *Wahlala kanjalo* (He sat down thus); *Wahlala na?* (Did he sit down?), *Wahlala impela* (He did indeed sit down). These observations regarding the adverbial use of nouns apply to nominals in general.

Conjunctive adverbs introduce subordinate clauses, e.g. *Samtshela mhla sihamba* (We told him on the day we went) and *Samtshela ngoba engakwazi* (We told him because he did not

know it), complex sentences consisting of a principal clause and a subordinate clause in which a dependent tense is used. There are two varieties of conjunctive adverbs, corresponding to adverbs proper of the second variety, e.g. *nxa* (when, if), *mhla* and *msuku* (on the day when), and of the fifth variety, e.g. *uma* (if, when), *noma* (even if), *ngoba* (because), *lapha* (when, where) and *lokhu* (since), *ukuthi* (that) and *uku* (that, so that), with the inflections in *na-*, *nga-*, *kuna-*, *njenga-*, *nganga-*. Although these inflected forms are undoubtedly conjunctive adverbs, *ukuthi* and *uku* are not so, as they do not introduce subordinate clauses with dependent tenses, *ukuthi* being followed by independent tenses of the indicative mood and *uku* by the subjunctive mood. They could therefore be described as conjunctions, for the clauses which they introduce are capable of independent existence whatever the mood, e.g. *Sabatshela ukuthi siyahamba* (We told them that we were going) and *Sabafuna uku* *bahambe nabo* (We wanted them to go also), with *Siyahamba* (We are going) and *Ma* *bahambe nabo* (Let them go also) as self-standing sentences. But it is better to regard them as conjunctive adverbs nevertheless, especially because they give rise to a set of conjunctive adverbs by the addition of extra prefixes. The demonstratives in agreement with the locative class, *lapha* and *lokhu* are adverbs in the present-day language, but they are both adverbs proper and conjunctive adverbs, the only case of overlap in this analysis. Here again *lokhu* has lost all reference to "place", now serving to introduce adverbial clauses of "time" and "reason", whereas *lapha* introduces adverbial clauses of "time" and "place".

Just as nominals may be used adverbially as adverbs proper, so may they be used as conjunctive adverbs. The best example is *ngesikhathi*¹ (*ngesikhathi efika*, when he comes), to be contrasted with *uma* (*uma efika*, if he comes), a distinction in meaning more exact in Zulu than in English. But *ngesikhathi* (when), an inflected form of *isikhathi* (time), is a noun and not an adverb as it has the power of controlling agree-

¹Some speakers prefer *ngenkathi*.

ment, whereas *uma* (if) is an adverb and outside the system of grammatical agreement.

Some deficient verbs sometimes occur without verbal concords, e.g. *cishe* (almost), *phinde* (again), *nce* (afterwards, and then, so that), *gede* (as soon as), *hleze* (and—not, so that—not), and then they may be mistaken for conjunctive adverbs. The distinction is quite clear, however. Deficient verbs are verbal because their roots are verbal and they display most of the characteristics of verbs, notwithstanding the fact that they are deficient both morphologically and syntactically. Conjunctive adverbs are nominal because their roots are nominal and they display most of the characteristics of nominals, except that they are never used in copulative construction and therefore never occur with verbal concords, which distinguishes them even more clearly from deficient verbs. In this respect conjunctive adverbs are peculiar. These distinctions are in addition to the fact that deficient verbs do not usually introduce subordinate clauses (they combine with the following verb to form a complex tense) and are not usually followed by dependent tenses (the following verb is generally in the subjunctive mood), whereas conjunctive adverbs always introduce subordinate clauses and are always followed by dependent tenses.

Conjunctions constitute a very small part of speech: *kodwa* (but) (<pronoun); *kepha* (but), *nokho* (nevertheless) (<locative class?); *kanti* (whereas), *futhi* (and also) (uncertain origin). Like adverbs, they are nominals without agreement, but they are clearly and formally distinct from both adverbs proper and conjunctive adverbs in function, which is to join together two separate sentences. In the compound sentence which results, both parts are capable of independent existence, e.g. *Samtshela kodwa akalalelanga* (We told him but he did not listen) and *Samtshela futhi sambonisa* (We told him and also we showed him).

This article does not set out to analyse each part of speech in detail but simply to classify the words into grammatical categories on the criterion of form. These parts of speech are as follows:

A. NOMINALS

- (1) Independent nominals
Nouns
- (2) Dependent nominals:
 - (a) Pronouns
 - (b) Adjectives:
 - (i) adjectives proper
 - (ii) noun adjectives
 - (iii) interrogative adjectives
 - (c) Demonstratives
- (3) Nominals without agreement:
 - (a) Adverbs:
 - (i) adverbs proper
 - (ii) conjunctive adverbs
 - (b) Conjunctions

B. VERBALS

Verbs

C. PARTICLES

- (1) Ideophones
- (2) Interjections

NOMINAL INFLECTIONS besides the prefixes and concords of the agreement system characterizing each part of speech:

(1) Prefixal:

- (a) Independent extra prefixes:
 - (i) *na-*, *nga-*, *kuna-*, *njenga-*, *nganga-*; *yi-*, *y-* and *ng-*
 - (ii) *ku-*, *e-* and *o-*. These locative prefixes cannot be prefixed to nominals without agreement, as this would bring them into the system of grammatical agreement.
- (b) dependent extra prefixes:
possessive prefixes

(2) Suffixal:

- (a) locative *-ini* (nouns only)
- (b) diminutive *-ana* (except demonstratives)
- (c) augmentative *-kazi* (limited use only)

VERBAL INFLECTIONS besides the subject and object concords:

These are too many to be enumerated here. Let it suffice to say that the verbal system consists of five moods, two non-finite and three finite.

1. Infinitive Mood, with positive and negative forms, but no person and no number. The

infinitive form of the verb is in fact a verbal noun of Class 15, comprising a noun prefix and a verb root, with both nominal and verbal characteristics, e.g. both nominal extra prefixes and verbal infixes, and grammatical support both nominally by means of the possessive concord and verbally with or without the object concord.

2. Imperative Mood, with positive forms only, second person only, both singular and plural. The imperative form of the verb is unusual in that it has no prefixes: *thula!* and *thulani!* (be quiet! singular and plural). The object concord when used is therefore in a prefixal position, e.g. *mshaye!* (hit him!).

3. Indicative Mood, with four conjugations, positive and negative, independent and dependent, so that positive and negative conjugations have independent and dependent tenses, and independent and dependent conjugations, positive and negative tenses; four simple or basic tenses; past, perfect, present, future; past and future compound tenses by means of the verbal auxiliary *be*, with three aspects: perfect, present, future; two infixes besides the negative infix *-nga-*: the "progressive" infix *-sa-* in both positive and negative tenses, and the "expectant" infix *-ka-* in negative tenses only; the verbal auxiliary *se* to emphasize the time of the action and therefore occurring in positive tenses only.

4. Subjunctive Mood, with two conjugations, positive and negative; three simple tenses; past, present, future; no compound tenses and therefore no aspects; the "hortative" infix *bo* in both positive and negative tenses, present tense only, besides the negative infix *-nga-*; the "imperative" prefix *a-* or *ma-* in both positive and negative tenses, present tense only.

5. Conditional Mood, with four conjugations, positive and negative, independent and dependent; one simple present tense; past compound tenses with the verbal auxiliary *be*, with present aspect. Note that the conditional infix *-nga-* may be used alone followed by dependent tenses of the indicative mood, positive and negative, instead of full conditional tenses, but only in the apodosis of the conditional construction, e.g. *Wayengasondela uma ngambiza*

and *Nga wasondela uma ngambiza* (He would have approached if I had called him).

The copulative auxiliary verb *-ba* requires special mention. It has the full range of moods, tenses and aspects, but it can never stand alone, always being immediately followed by the nominal, sometimes the stable form, e.g. *ukuḁa-yinkosi* (to be(come) a chief) (noun), *ukuḁa-yiḁo* (to be(come) the people themselves) (absolute pronoun), *ukuḁa-yilaḁo* (to be(come) those people) (demonstrative), and sometimes the non-stable form, e.g. *ukuḁa-nenkomo* (to be with a cow, to have a cow) and *ukuḁa-s-entaḁeni* (to be on the hill) (inflected nouns), *ukuḁa-ḁonke* (to be all the people) and *ukuḁa-ḁodwa* (to be only the people) (inclusive and exclusive pronouns), *ukuḁa-khona* (to be there) (adverb). These *ba*-forms belong to the verbal conjunction and the full range of inflections is found. They do not belong to the copulative conjugation which is very limited in range. Copulative constructions may be either forms of the copulative conjugation or *ba*-forms of the verbal conjugation, and these are not mutually exclusive.

The formal features characterizing the parts of speech of Zulu are to be found at the different levels of linguistic analysis. At the lexical level the part of speech has a set of roots peculiar to itself. This is not to say that verb roots cannot occur as the base of nouns according to the rules of derivation, final *-a* becoming *-i* for personal nouns and *-o* for impersonal nouns; and that adjective roots cannot occur as the base of nouns of class 14 and verb roots as the base of nouns of class 15, without any inflectional change except the addition of the appropriate prefix; and that adjective roots cannot occur as the base of adverbs proper by the addition of the adverbial prefix. There are even a few examples of nominal roots being used as the base of verbs by the addition of the suffix *-pha*, e.g. *vilapha* (to be lazy) (noun root) and *khalipha* (to be sharp) (adjective root). At the morphological level the part of speech has a set of prefixes or concords peculiar to itself for exclusive use with its own set of roots, except in copulative and

relative constructions, and except for the parts of speech which fall outside the system of grammatical agreement. It also has other prefixes (the nominal extra prefixes and the verbal infixes) and suffixes (the nominal suffixes and the verbal suffix *-ile* and extensions, *-el*, *-is*, *-an*, etc.) which characterize it just as distinctively.

At the syntactical level the part of speech is characterized by particular features of grammatical behaviour e.g. the manner of grammatical support. All these formal features are significant in the analysis and description of the grammatical structure of Zulu, in order to give a true picture of the structural pattern of the language.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The Editorial Committee gratefully acknowledges receipt of the publications listed below, during the period 1 June, 1957, to 31 October, 1957. Reviews are published as circumstances permit, but no undertaking can be given that every book received will be reviewed in *African Studies*.

- DAVIES, K. G.: *The Royal African Company*. Longmans, Green & Co., London and Cape Town. 1957.
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- : *Demographic Yearbook, 1956*. Dept. of Public Information, United Nations, New York, 1956.
- : *Non Self-governing Territories—Summaries of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1955*. Dept. of Public Information, United Nations, New York. 1957.

AN INTERPRETATION OF HINDU MARRIAGES IN DURBAN

HILDA KUPER*

SYNOPSIS

In this, the last of three related articles, the writer indicates the main variations in marriage ceremonies of South African Hindus, and interprets the underlying social values. Clear cut differences in social regulations and ritual detail survive between the so-called "orthodox", Tamil, and Hindustani, and within these linguistic-cultural groups are further variations related to caste, modern ideas, alternative books, status of the individuals (widowed, divorced, devotees of specific deities). Brahminic influence is greater among the Hindustani of all castes, than among the Tamil.

Marriages of the "reform" groups resemble each other more closely, and are characterized by greater weight being attached to individual choice before marriage; the prominence of the bride, as well as the groom, in the ritual; the irrelevance of caste; and the trend towards simplicity of ritual according to a pre-Brahminic ideal.

Hindu marriages in South Africa are essentially religious and this is clearly recognized by the interpretation given by laymen as well as scholars to the elaborate symbols. The main aims of the ritual are purification and the underwriting of dharma (righteous conduct) expressed in personal and kinship obligations, and these aims persist even though all marriages are affected by the South African milieu.

In two previous articles¹ I described particular marriages of orthodox Tamil- and Hindustani - speaking Hindu in Durban. I selected the orthodox because their ritual is more elaborate and spells out more clearly the purpose of the ceremony as a whole. In this final article, I shall summarize the main features, discuss variations and outline the values.

CHARACTERISTIC STAGES IN MARRIAGE CEREMONIES OF NATAL HINDU

Columns (1) and (2) of the following chart summarize the main rites of conservative, orthodox Tamil and Hindustani; Columns (3) and (4) refer to practices of the less orthodox or 'reform'. The number of orthodox exceeds the reform, but many minor customs are omitted even in orthodox marriages.

(1)	(2)	(3) and (4)
ORTHODOX TAMIL	ORTHODOX HINDUSTANI	REFORM TAMIL REFORM HINDUSTANI
1. Preparation and Introduction		
<i>Initiative:</i> By boy's family.	By girl's family.	(3) and (4) by individuals.
Greater initial importance of maternal uncle whose consent is essential.	Importance of paternal line. Maternal uncle active in ritual.	Emphasis on maternal less marked in (3) and emphasis on paternal less marked in (4).

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(1)	(2)	(3) and (4)
ORTHODOX TAMIL	ORTHODOX HINDUSTANI	REFORM TAMIL REFORM HINDUSTANI
<i>Choice:</i> Caste endogamy where possible, but other factors also considered.	As in (1)	(3) and (4): caste endogamy relatively unimportant.
Preferential marriages with specified kin, especially mother's brother's son.	Marriage with kinsmen, on paternal and maternal side, prohibited up to specified degree.	Marriage with outside families preferred.
<i>Time of Marriage ceremonies:</i> Depend on almost every stage on almanac, and no marriages take place during certain months. Parents exchange children's horoscopes.	As in (1).	(3) and (4): consultation of almanac and astrologers not necessary though certain months are not accepted as wedding months.
<i>Officiator:</i> Not necessarily of Brahmin caste.	Always of Brahmin caste. ¹ Assisted by a Nao, of Nao caste.	(3) and (4): not necessarily of Brahmin caste.
<i>Proposal:</i> Boy's family comes to girl's home.	Girl's party comes to boy's home.	(3) and (4) consider this not necessary.
<i>Invitations:</i> Same cards for both families, and reference to maternal uncle.	Different cards sent from each side.	(3): as in (1). (4): as in (2).
<i>Engagement:</i> <i>Nitchium</i> at girl's home.	<i>Chekai</i> at boy's home.	(3) and (4): engagement rites considered not necessary.
<i>Betrothal:</i> Passing of gifts (<i>parsum</i>) mainly from boy's to girl's family. Honouring of girl—her father's feet are symbolically washed.	Passing of gifts (<i>thiluk</i>) from girl's family to boy's. Honouring of boy. His feet are symbolically washed.	(3) and (4) consider betrothal rites not necessary.
<i>Anointing and Bathing:</i> Number of anointings (<i>ne-lengu</i>) fixed at 3 or 5. Last time jointly on marriage day. Greater social emphasis.	7 <i>Huldee</i> , no joint anointing; greater religious emphasis.	(3) and (4) consider anointing not necessary.

¹In the previous article I erroneously used the terms Maharaj caste for Brahmin caste.

(1)

(2)

(3) and (4)

ORTHODOX TAMIL

ORTHODOX HINDUSTANI

REFORM TAMIL
REFORM HINDUSTANI

Not known

Lawa performed. Ceremony of
laja homa.

(3): as in (1)
(4) *laja homa* important.

II Integration

(a) Establishing the Bond between Man and Wife.

Marriage Ceremony:

Tiramanum held at boy's home
or hall hired by him.

Vivasanskar held at girl's home
or hall hired by her kin.

(3) and (4) usually hold cere-
mony in hall, expenses fol-
lowing corresponding ortho-
dox patterns.

Departure:

Minor ceremonies before de-
parture of girl for groom's
home.

Nechoo and elaborate cere-
monies before departure of
boy for girl's home.

No ceremonies on departure.

Arrival:

Minor ceremonies for girl. No
dwar pooja, etc. Less emphasis
on offerings. No *thagpaat* and
less avoidance between girl and
husband's brothers.

Elaborate welcome (*dwar pooja*
and offerings) with girl's family
representing the girl and ho-
nouring the groom.
Kanyadhan (Virgin Giving)
and *Godhan* very important.
Pau Poojee.

(3): girl given prominence.
(4): Emphasis on sacred fire;
ritual simplified.

No *thagpaat*.

Thagpaat symbolizing avoid-
ance between girl and hus-
band's elder brothers.

Not performed.

Canopy Ceremony:

Booth (*pandal*) with elaborate
altar. Ritual objects include 7
clay pots, coconuts, different
grains, pestle and mortar.
Deities represented.

Booth (*janwas*) with elaborate
altar. Ritual objects much the
same as in (1) but greatest em-
phasis attached to *Kalsa*.
Deities also represented. Im-
portance of marriage fire.

(3) and (4): simplified version
of (1) and (2). Main emphasis
on sacred fire, water and grain.
Deities not represented in
image because of belief that
Divinity is abstract.

Binding Ceremony.

Slightly different.

(3): Binding ceremony later.
(4): Reform Hindus have this
as climax.

(1)	(2)	(3) and (4)
ORTHODOX TAMIL	ORTHODOX HINDUSTANI	REFORM TAMIL REFORM HINDUSTANI
Less emphasis on vows.	Emphasis on circling the holy fire in <i>bhawar</i> ; on bride placing her foot on grinding stone in <i>asma rohana</i> ; on offering of <i>lawar</i> to sacred flame, and on <i>saptapadi</i> (7 'Steps').	(3) and (4): Vows very important.
<i>Climax:</i> <i>Thali</i> necklace tied by groom.	<i>Sindhoor</i> (red lead powder) on head of bride, and <i>tika</i> on her forehead put by groom.	(3): <i>Thali</i> and tying of knot, but not as elaborate. (4): Reform Hindustani omit the spilling of the red powder altogether. Nuptial garlanding is important.
<i>Gifts:</i> <i>Varse</i> by specific relatives.	<i>Neg</i> and <i>samkalpa</i> by some different relatives.	(3) and (4): Gift-giving is not as formal or stereotyped.
<i>Seedplanting:</i> By bride and groom.	Not done.	(3) and (4): not done.

III. Assimilation to Married Status

Couple go to bride's home for few days. Breaking down of barrier between girl's and boy's family by food, gifts, etc.	Couple go to groom's home then bride returns to own home for few days, then finally fetched to her husband's home.	(3) and (4): not as formal.
Girl returns for special ritual to mother's home after 3 months.	Breaking down of barriers between boy's and girl's family by food, gifts, etc.	(3) and (4): not as formal.
First baby always born at bride's mother's home.	First baby should be born at bride's mother's home.	(3) and (4): not as rigid. Readier acceptance of hospital.

The religious rites considered essential for a Brahminic wedding can be isolated:

- (1) The girl is given by her father or guardian to the groom in a rite of *kanyadhan* (virgin gift).
- (2) The sacred marriage fire (*vivaha havan*) is lit, and under the Brahmin's direction,

special prayers are said. The fire is a universal witness.

- (3) The groom holds the girl's hand in the rite of *pani grahana* and recites special vows of loyalty and fidelity.
- (4) The couple throw fried grain (*lawar*) on the sacred fire in the *laja homa* ritual and the Brahmin recites *mantra*.

- (5) The couple circle the fire and a sacred water vessel in *agni parinayana* (fire circling or *bhavar*) and the bride mounts the millstone in the rite of *asma rohana* (stone mounting) while the groom recites a prayer enjoining her to be 'firm like a stone' in her wifely duties.
- (6) The groom leads the bride for 7 steps (*saptapadi*) invoking seven stereotyped blessings.

The following points emerging from the above summaries need to be re-emphasized:

- (i) There is a basic ritual pattern characteristic of Hindu marriages in Durban.
- (ii) This pattern is derived from their origin in India.
- (iii) Between linguistic groups of Hindus in South Africa there is considerable variation both in social regulations and in ritual detail, e.g.
 - (a) Marriages between certain kin are permitted by Tamil and prohibited by Hindustani.
 - (b) Initiative is taken by the boy's kin among conservative S.A. Tamil, and by the girl's kin among the conservative Hindustani.
 - (c) Maternal kin, more especially the mother's brothers, receive greater legal prominence among the Tamil than among the Hindustani.
 - (d) The engagement takes place in the girl's home among the Tamil, in the boy's among the Hindustani, and the place of marriage ceremony is correspondingly reversed.
 - (e) Caste specialization is limited in both groups, but among the Tamil even the priest need not be of Brahmin caste.
- (iv) Between 'orthodox' and 'reform' there are also significant differences, e.g.: In 'reform' marriages:
 - (1) Greater weight is attached to the two individuals primarily involved;
 - (2) Caste is theoretically irrelevant;
 - (3) There is a marked trend towards simplicity of ritual;
 - (4) Marriages among 'Reform' Tamil and 'Reform' Hindustani resemble each other more closely than 'Orthodox' Tamil and 'Orthodox' Hindustani.
 - (5) The so-called 'reform' marriages of both groups appear to be based on a pre-Brahminic ideal.

VARIATIONS IN HINDU MARRIAGES IN DURBAN

In addition to Tamil and Hindustani Hindu in Durban there are Telugu and Gujarati Hindu. Most Telugu came originally from what is at present the State of Andhra in South India, and the Gujarati emigrated from Surat and the Bombay Presidency in North Western India.

Variations in customs of different regions and villages are recognized in the traditional, sacred writings (the Grihya-Sutras) regulating married life and conduct. In Durban regional linguistic differences persist but village differences have fallen away. The customs of South Indians (i.e. the Tamil and Telugu) show greater similarity to each other than to those of people originally of North Indian origin (i.e. Hindustani and Gujarati): South Indians have a largely Dravidian background, and North Indians a more Aryan background.

Within the linguistic groupings there are certain differences associated with caste, even though present-day marriages in South Africa cannot be analysed in a rigid caste framework. In the Tamil community, for example, the Pather (jewellers by caste occupation) retain a number of distinctive ceremonies (including what they describe as a 'double wedding')¹; and among the Hindustani the Brahmin and Kshatriya castes practice, albeit in abbreviated and symbolic form, the *janao* (sacred thread ceremony, known in Sanskrit as *Upanyana*). But except for the Gujarati, caste customs are confused and, especially among the Tamil, often ignored. Nothing equivalent to the complicated

¹For their caste position in India vide E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1911, Vol. V, pp. 159-160.

interaction of caste functionaries¹ typical of conservative weddings in village India is practised, nor is food prepared and partaken of in terms of caste hierarchy. Families of the same caste in Durban may practise different customs.

Between conservative orthodox, modern orthodox and Reform Hindu there are recognized differences, but no group has yet achieved clear uniformity in marriages. Individuals who do not call themselves orthodox or reform but simply 'Hindu' may, and occasionally do, insist on 'modern' as opposed to 'old fashioned' weddings in which they themselves select which rituals should be performed and which omitted.

Thus one old woman said contemptuously: 'Nowadays people complete a marriage by a tea party. Before it was different; a marriage took at least three days and nights'.

The most extreme case of a 'modernized' wedding which I have on record is that of an educated Tamil marrying a girl of his own choice, with no preliminary rituals, and no Brahmin. He simply invited his friends, and the girl and her people invited theirs; but they retained two of the rituals: (1) a fire was lit by an 'educated' friend on the altar which consisted of two banana plants with fruit, and (2) groom and bride took short vows of mutual devotion and co-operation, whereafter he tied a *thali* round the neck of the bride in the presence of their guests. The entire ceremony lasted 20 minutes.

Poverty may also lead to general simplification of ceremony and the omission of certain preliminaries and gifts, though in very orthodox families parents are still prepared to get heavily into debt in order to fulfil the minutiae of ritual obligation.

One of the most important factors accounting for variations of Hindu marriage is the absence of standardized instruction for Brahmins in South Africa¹. They acquire their knowledge through informal apprenticeship to practising officiants and there are quite often discussions during the ceremony as to the correct procedure. Innovations may be introduced as it were unconsciously and are usually of a minor character—a change of order or a slight variation on the basic pattern of ingredients. Outstanding innovations are rare.²

The Brahminic marriage rites are prescribed in the Sanskrit Smritis (books of ancient law givers), and the selection varies with the knowledge and proficiency of the priest³. Sanskrit is generally considered the language of ritual, but there is a section of the Indian community particularly among the Tamil which emphasizes the worth of the vernacular. Few South African Hindu even in the priesthood are really competent Sanskrit scholars and many prefer to officiate in the vernacular interspersed with Sanskrit *mantras*. Deviations from the Brahminic form of marriage are greater among South African Tamil than other sections probably because few Brahmins from Tamil land came to South Africa, and the majority of Tamil came as indentured labourers unversed in Brahminic practices.

There are different types of preliminaries to recognized Hindu marriages. South African Hindu scholars sometimes refer to the 'eight types' enumerated in the ancient Code of Manu:

- (1) *Brahma*: The gift of a daughter, clothed only with a single robe, to a man learned in the Veda, whom

¹In 1956, an association of Brahmins who officiate at weddings, and which is called the Sanathan Purohita Mandal, met and drew up a uniform Hindu Marriage ceremony for the Hindu Orthodox section. A book was published by them and all the Purohita (marriage priests) are expected to follow it. It has had a mixed reception, especially by the extremely Orthodox. Moreover even the officiator may have to pander to the wishes of the family if they want to retain certain rites not prescribed in the new book.

²An interesting illustration of an important and deliberate change is the way in which certain rituals in the marriages, formerly performed at the auspicious hours of the night, have come to be performed during the hours of the day as well. According to some informants, S. J. Maharaj of Maritzburg, a recognized astrologer, re-interpreted the almanac and officiated at the first full day wedding in 1937. For this he was severely criticized. However during the war the blackout was enforced and day marriages became accepted as the general rule.

³The Smriti include the Grihyasutras which deal with domestic life and conduct, and the Dharma-sutras (the Code of Manu being one) which deal mainly with social life and conduct. Cf. P. Prabhu, *Hindu Social Organisation*, Bombay, 1954, p. 166.

- her father voluntarily invites, and respectfully receives.
- (2) *Daiva*: Is the gift of a daughter, whom her father has decked in gay attire, when the sacrifice is already begun, to the officiating priest.
- (3) *Arsha*: When the father gives his daughter away after having received from the bridegroom a substantial gift (formerly cattle) for uses prescribed by law.
- (4) *Prajapatya*: When the father gives away his daughter with due honour, saying distinctly, 'May both of you perform together your civil and religious duties'.
- (5) *A'sura*: When the bridegroom, having given as much wealth as he can afford to the father and his paternal kinsmen, and to the damsel herself, takes her voluntarily as his bride.
- (6) *Gandharva*: Is the reciprocal (sexual) congress of youth and maiden with mutual desire proceeding from lust, in which (all social) laws have been utterly disregarded.
- (7) *Rakshasa*: Is the forcible or fraudulent abduction of a maiden from her home.
- (8) *Paishacha*: Is the forcible seduction of a girl while she is sleeping, intoxicated or disordered in intellect.¹

In Durban the preliminaries acceptable to the majority are described by priests as either (3) *Arsha* or (4) *Prajapatya*. No clear distinction is drawn between the two, and the main element in both is the consent of the father of the girl. Types 5, 6, 7 and 8 are strongly condemned, and are rare. Reformists advocate (1) the Brahma type, in which emphasis is on the mutual consent of the two individuals concerned. Romantic marriages, based on 'private love' are increasing, but the norm is still for marriages to be arranged,

greater or lesser attention being paid to the wishes of the young couple. There are, particularly among the very poor, men and women who live together without having performed any ceremony and who are treated as man and wife. It is anticipated that at some time they will go through a civil marriage ceremony.

Distinct from variations in ordinary marriage ceremonies are marriages of people whose social status requires special recognition in ritual. In South Africa these include widows, unmarried mothers, people 'given' to particular deities and people who have died unmarried.

(a) *Widows and Unmarried Mothers*. A Hindu woman may go through a full religious marriage ceremony only once in her life; a man, with each new wife. For a widower to remarry is considered right and natural, for a widow to remarry still meets with disapproval among the most conservative Hindustani, but among the Tamil it is generally accepted, especially if the widow is young. In both groups the widow remarriage ceremony is very simple, and appears to be identical with that for a girl who is pregnant before marriage, or has an illegitimate child. Among the Hindustani such women are said to be given in *sagai* not *saadi*. The woman places her hands on that of her future husband over a brass urn of water and both take vows of marriage in the presence of a witness. When a widower remarries, his new wife must show respect to the dead wife, and before placing the red lead on her own forehead she symbolically offers it to the deceased indicating that she still considers her the rightful wife. Otherwise the remarriage ceremony is identical with the widower's first marriage.

Among Tamil, marriages of widows and unmarried mothers are described as *nadyvi-tatala* (in the middle of the room) and not as *tiranamum*. The essential and almost sole, feature, is the putting on of the *thali* in the presence of witnesses who are usually members of the family.

¹ *Manu*, III, 21.

(b) *Marriages to Mata Mai.* Among Tamil and Telugu, under special circumstances such as serious illness in childhood or if a woman has lost all previous children, parents may 'give' or dedicate the child to the patron deity of mother and children, generally known as *Mariamamma*. On the marriage day the dedicated will come with his (or her) family and close friends to the temple, and bring offerings (sour porridge, fresh vegetables and fruit), to the goddess. Instead of only one *thali*, the groom's family provides two, and after offerings have been made to the deity one *thali* is tied around the image by the temple priest, and the other round the neck of the bride by the groom's sister. Those present in the temple then shower the couple with blessings of rice and flowers.

(c) *Marriage of the Dead.* If a South African Hindu of South Indian origin dies before he or she is married, but is of an age when he (she) should have been married, a ceremony is usually performed for the corpse, by the parents or kin before the burial 'that they may escape punishment in the next life for omission of duty in this life', for it is the duty (*dharma*) of parents to marry off their children, just as it is the duty of married people to beget children. An unmarried but mature girl, or even woman, is thus symbolically married by a priest with 'something like a *thali*' to a banana tree bearing fruit. A somewhat similar ceremony is performed for a woman who has children but never went through the religious ceremony, the aim in this case being to legitimize the children and to protect the deceased and her consort from punishment.

Among the Hindi-speaking group there is no marriage ceremony for the unmarried and childless dead, though death ceremonies also differ between those married and un-

married, the banana tree and *thali* being replaced by other symbols, especially the use of *sindhoor* (red lead) and the unmarried dead are never cremated. There are also symbolic marriages for deceased unmarried Hindustani with children¹.

Certain other ceremonies are also directly associated by informants with marriage and bring to mind the sociological principle stated many years ago by Radcliffe-Brown: 'Where the same or similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them'². Thus the ceremony performed by certain Tamil families at a girl's first puberty has been described as 'like a marriage' or even as 'the first marriage', and similarly the mourning rites of a widow 'are to remind her of her marriage' by symbolically repeating and then undoing the ceremony. The Hindustani girl has no puberty ceremony, but the *upanyana* (sacred thread ceremony) for boys of the upper castes has been described both as a 'rebirth', and as 'almost a marriage but without a bride'. As among the Tamil, the rites performed by a Hindustani widow are poignantly reminiscent of her marriage.

Marriage is considered both natural and necessary, and, as mentioned earlier, it is part of the duty (*dharma*) of parents to find spouses for their children. No effort should be spared to find a good, suitable mate. Among Hindus of South Indian origin, if a girl does not receive any proposals or if proposals do not lead to engagement, special rites may be performed, the nature of which depends partly on the priest and partly on his diagnosis for the misfortune.

Thus in one case it was attributed to a 'bad time of birth', in another to a 'bad time of menstruation'. In the first case a *poosali* (temple priest) performed a special ritual at midnight, and when after some months this showed no success the girl was told to walk one hundred times round two trees in the

¹Recently an illegitimate son was to be married. His father who was of Vaishya *varna* had died; his mother was a Sudra. The son adopted the father's caste, which was the same as that of his bride-to-be, but before he was allowed to marry her, he had to be made legitimate. This was done by a 'symbolic marriage of the mother'. (Case reported to me by B. Rambiritch.)

²A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, 1933, p. 235.

the temple yard. These trees, the *haresan* and *vimboo*, are tied together and represent the unity of male and female. In the second case the priest performed a different ritual in which the clothes worn by the girl were left on a mirror and taken by a poor woman. The girl had also to go to the temple and make offerings to nine images representing the planets. She took as her offering nine pennies, nine pieces of cloth, nine betel leaves and nuts, nine kinds of flowers, nine camphor, nine incense sticks and other ingredients. The ceremony ended with a ritual bath and the girl's mother rubbed into her head three different oils.

These temple ceremonies for unfortunate girls are not found among the Hindustani group, and this may be because among them the girl's parents are expected to take the direct initiative in finding a boy. Spinsters are few but appear to be more frequent among Tamil than among Hindustani in South Africa.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CHARACTER OF HINDU MARRIAGE

The ordinary marriage ceremonies, their variations and associations emphasize the distinctive quality of Hindu ritual, which is intelligible only in the general context of Hinduism. Like every living religion, Hinduism has certain basic traditional sacred principles yet adapts to the local environment. Thus a characteristic 'regional Hinduism'¹ has developed in South Africa, partly because very few religious leaders came with the early immigrants who were drawn from nearly all areas of India, and partly because of the pressures peculiar to Indians in South Africa.

Classical Hinduism lays down four *asramas* or stages of life, for the development of individuals

of the three 'twice born *varna* (caste groups)'. These stages are *brahmacharya*, or training; *garhastya*, work as a householder; *vanaprashya*, retreat for the loosening of social bonds; *sannyasa*, renunciation and awaiting of freedom from this life².

The majority of Durban Hindu recognize marriage as essential for the fulfilment both of natural desires and of obligations to family and community.

Individual growth is marked by *sanskara* (rituals) the number of which vary from sixteen to forty-eight according to the group and the sacred books. In Durban some of the traditional *sanskara* have been abandoned; others (e.g. the *janao*) are simplified. The *vivahasankar* (wedding ritual) inaugurating the stage of marriage is generally recognized as one of special importance, and one that must be maintained; it puts the sacred seal on the creative force, and sanctions the most highly valued social institution—the family. It is only in the family that the power of human reproduction, a power that must not be wasted or polluted, is blessed.

Symbolically and structurally *sanskara* are typical rites of passage, marking changes in personal status, and fitting more than less into the classical framework first outlined by van Gennep³—separation from a previous status, preparation through seclusion and purification and finally introduction to the new status. The sequence does not characterize each specific ritual but the pattern as a whole.

In the Hindu marriage *sanskara* separation from the previous status of unmarried is symbolized in the number of acts performed for the last time both by the group of unmarried for the bride and groom who are leaving them and by the generation of married which hitherto excluded them; by the lengthy preliminary ceremonies of proposal and betrothal, in which the

¹Vide M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, London, 1952, for a discussion of 'spread' of Hinduism, pp. 213-228.

²References: S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*, London, 1926, pp. 52-59.

P. Prabhu, *Hindu Social Organisation*, Bombay, 1954, pp. 74.

K. M. Kapadia, *Hindu Kinship*, Bombay, 1947.

P. Deussen, 'Asrama' in Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.
Manu, VI, 88.

³A. van Gennep, *Les Rite de Passage*, Paris, 1909.

exchange of visits, food and gifts, serve to pave the way for the removal of the girl from her own family and her acceptance into the groom's family. The break with the old home, preliminary to entering a new home is marked by the establishment of a 'clean' i.e. 'sacred' place by the raising of a pole at which the new relationship of the young couple is inaugurated.

Between separation from the old status and acceptance into the new, is a period of seclusion and readjustment expressed in the anointing ceremonies, the prescription of special foods, the repetition of rites to remove evil, in isolation from normal activities and in ritual purifications.

The final aggregation to the stage of married life is achieved symbolically by donning new clothes and special ornamentation, by the symbolic 'binding together' of the couple, by exchange of gifts, by commensality, and by the emphasis through vows, instruction and demonstration of family and social obligations flowing from the marital status.

The majority of South African Hindu (as the majority in most societies) ritualize more than they philosophize, justifying their practices when necessary by the age-old and world-wide rationalization of 'the customs of our fathers'. There are also a growing number who dismiss traditional ritual as 'nonsense' or 'waste of time'. But it was interesting to notice, how, when pressed by the anthropologist, informants speculated on the meaning of various symbols in what could be described as 'the Hindu cultural idiom'. This can be seen by quoting informants on the meaning of a few of the ritual ingredients: fire, water, earth, flowers, rice, bananas, coco-nuts and the 'products of the cow'.

'Fire stands for knowledge, progress and warmth'; 'the day there is no light in the world, there will be an end to mankind and growth'. 'Just as Christians say "Give us this day our daily bread", we Hindus say "Give us light for from light emerges bread, water and everything"'. 'Fire is the sun'; 'fire burns the gross, material substance in the brilliant purifying flame'; 'the lighted lamp or camphor is the dispeller of darkness, the light of the three

worlds'. 'When we burn the house lamp to *Lakshmi* [goddess of prosperity] we dispel darkness, and we must be clean to approach her.' At marriage, the sacred fire is the 'essential witness.' When a person dies, the house lamp burns in the room of death and may not go out, denoting that 'the light within the body has departed and has become one with the universal light of the world; so no other fire may be lit and no food may be cooked in a house till after the funeral.'

'Water is the essence of creation'; 'without water no one can live'; 'our lives are from water'; 'water cools our thirst'; 'water cleanses'; 'the earth is cooled by water'; 'water is the power of creation'. 'Moving water is more effective than standing water, where dirt, leaves and insects can collect. So we use rivers and the sea for ceremonies, sometimes it must be sweet moving water from rivers, and in death we use the salt sea.' 'Fire and water, like all aspects of the universe, can be both harmful and beneficial, good and bad, destructive as well as creative.'

'Earth is the mother. She gives everything. You plant one grain of rice in the earth, but she doesn't count and gives you countless back', Hindu children are instructed 'not to stamp on mother earth, but to tread her gently'; 'in orthodox homes a mother should lie on the earth and not on her bed to give birth to her child.' 'If people are not cremated but buried, the closest relatives throw soil into the grave, not because of the belief of 'dust unto dust, ashes to ashes', but 'it is the last time that the soul *in this body* traverses the earth and the body goes back to the mother.' 'Man and the world (of which earth is an element) are one.'

Flowers are necessary: they 'please God because of their scent and colour; like incense they make the air sweet'. '*Agabotti* (incense sticks) burn slowly and leave a clean smell for a long time; if you want to make an offering to a god, you should do him that honour'.

'Rice comes up from water (creation) and has close-packed grains on one stalk'; 'rice is our most nutritious food; it is used in different ways for nearly all ceremonies'. 'It can last an

indefinite time without going bad'. 'Bananas spread new runners each year' and 'carry clusters of fruits'. 'Grain gives food and nourishment'.

'Coconuts are hard and ugly on the outside but are pure white within'. 'Outside is hardness, inside water'. When coconuts were unobtainable, pineapples were substituted, for they had 'some of the right qualities'—the harsh exterior and the sweet bright interior. But as soon as coconuts were again on the market, pineapples were no longer used: 'they are without water' and 'they are without void'.

'We (Hindu) only use clean things, like milk and curds, and other products of the cow for purifying' (The products of the cow used in ritual are milk, ghee, curds, dung and urine). 'We call the cow *gau-mata*, cow mother and we venerate her, and what she gives we accept with gratitude.' 'We use her products in weddings because they are from her and purify.' '*Gau-raksha* (cow protection) is part of orthodox Hinduism. We preach *ahimsa* (non-violence) and believe that to kill a cow is murder. No true Hindu will eat beef.'

The isolation of symbols serves as a clue to cultural associations, but for full interpretation they must be seen in relation to each other, and to the society as a whole. In their interaction, they form ritual complexes, such as in the sacred fire ritual (*havan*), the water ritual (*achmania*), the removal of evil (*disti*). Thus in the sacred fire ritual, the priest chants invocations (*mantras*) to the elements and deities while he burns ritually prescribed ingredients such as grain and ghee; and he offers cardamom and areca nut, flowers and incense, honey and sugar; and round the sacred flame he sprinkles water in the rite of *achmania*. Behind the symbols are religious values of the society: purity, health, fertility, prosperity, universality. The emphasis in interpretation varies with the level of knowledge and sophistication of informants. Explaining *havan*, one pandit said: '*Havan* is an offering, and the belief underlying it is that the words, together with the smoke, rise upwards purifying the air and promoting health and happiness.

The smoke should rise straight, and the fuel should not splutter.' Another informant, an educated Reform teacher interpreted *havan* as 'primordial re-incarnation, a sublime act of destruction and transmutation.' A third, a business man with religious background said 'the ceremony ends with "*Shanti Paat*" the word *Shanti* means "peace" and is repeated three times. The aim of *havan* is to link people in harmony with each other and the world around'.

According to my most orthodox and educated informants, the primary aim of any *sanskara* is purification, itself preparation for *moksha*, ultimate liberation from the cycle of births and rebirths. The Hindi-speaking Hindu stresses the concept of *chooth* (cleanness, purity) and *achooth*, its opposite, which is pollution. During a marriage ceremony everything must be *chooth*, 'clean', 'pure'; there are taboos on contact with people who are in a condition of *achooth* (e.g. menstruating women, women immediately after childbirth, widows) and the couple go through frequent acts of ritual purification, (the 'three oil' bath of the Tamil, the special massage of the Hindustani, the elaborate anointings, the removal of evil).

Considerable importance is attached to 'clean' and 'pure' food; no Hindu will have 'flesh' at the wedding meals because 'taking life' is considered contrary to 'clean' or righteous conduct. Foods, such as honey, sugar and milk are specifically said to be 'pure'; 'they are food for the gods'; 'they bring health'; 'they bring sweetness'; and the 'honey-milk' and the 'sweet rice' ceremonies, make these themes explicit.

Different explanations but each stressing purity, loyalty and other virtues are given for the ritual act in which the bride rests her foot on the stone and looks in the direction of the stars, Aruntadi or Dru. According to a priest: 'The grindstone represents the wife of the sage Gautama who was cursed by her husband for misconduct with one of the gods and turned into a stone. Aruntadi was wife of the sage Vasishta who by being a model of chastity won eternity as a star. By placing their feet on the stone, the couple indicate their intention of checking

unchaste desires and by looking at the stars they vow eternal fidelity.' A man with little knowledge of the classics said 'The big grindstone represents the mother, the small the child. The mother kicked a cow, and as punishment her child was turned to stone. This shows the couple that sin is punished, and that women suffer continual pain; the grindstone wears smooth and has to be chipped again. The couple look to the star or the sun for light'. Another stated that 'the star is symbol of firmness and loyalty, and when the bride puts her foot on it she takes the vow to be as firm in loyalty as a stone; then she looks at something bright—a star or the sun—to vow that she will be her husband's bright light'. According to another informant, Dru was the son of a king who on the death of his wife married again. Dru was ill-treated by his step-mother but by virtues and devotions was blessed by being turned into a star. Since marriages at the present time take place during the day, the priest may ask the couple to look at Surya, the sun, instead of either Aruntadi or Dru. These versions indicate a basic similarity: the need to reject evil and temptation and to concentrate on something that signifies purity and light.

There are in all things different and opposed aspects—clean and unclean, beneficial and harmful, propitious and unpropitious, tender and harsh—and the goal of liberation from life on earth requires that the disruptive aspect be overcome by self purification and expiation. Thus Pandit Vedalkar¹, a man well versed in Sanskrit and the classics of Hinduism, who was brought from India to give religious and vernacular instruction in Durban, described the grinding stone, pestle and mortar, broom, water vessel, and fire as 'representing the five slaughter houses at which the householder may consciously or unconsciously commit the sin of taking life. For this reason, five great sacrifices or devotions are laid on him: sacrifice to *Brahma* (the Creator), *pitri* (the ancestors), *deva* (the gods), *bhoota* (the spirits) and *manushva* (man-kind)'. These same symbols were described by

an intelligent layman as 'probably showing the work of the home—things that married people must know about and appreciate to lead the clean life together.'

The symbols are translated through interpersonal relationships, and the Hindu marriage ritual underwrites a complex pattern of kinship rights and obligations. This is sanctioned by the basic concepts of *dharma* and *karma* which can be crudely translated as 'righteous living' and 'moral causation' respectively. *Dharma* extends from correct performance of ritual to the ultimate search for self; *karma* is the effect of actions, good and bad, on a person's position in this life and in any future life.

In terms of *dharma*, parents are obliged to provide their children with mates, and for the sake of the future of all concerned they must be suitably matched. Sacred and secular means are sought to ensure compatibility in respect of time of birth and temperament, family background, physical health and appearance, and mode of living.

Key relatives are given special duties, emphasizing their position in the kinship structure of the newly-weds. Thus in the Hindustani ceremony the groom's oldest brother puts a *thagpaat* (special thread) round the bride's neck to show that this is the first and last time they may touch (*choona*) each other. Their relationship is henceforth one of mutual respect and avoidance. Again in very orthodox Hindustani marriages, the mother of the groom puts his crown on her own head before handing it to him, and the maternal uncle gives the mother (i.e. his own sister) seven mango leaves, of which she bites the stalks, while a similar ceremony is performed between the mother of the bride, the bride and her maternal uncle. In these acts the close identification of mother, child and maternal uncle, representing the maternal kin, is publicly declared, and the qualities of motherhood are transmitted from mother to daughter. The maternal uncle gives a gift to the bride, who belongs after marriage to her husband's kin, showing that he and his cannot claim anything

¹Vedalkar is a title meaning 'Jewel of the Vedas'.

from her; she belongs to her husband and his family, and the maternal group can only 'give to her, and not take from her, since they have already given her away'.

The correct behaviour of husband and wife is elaborated in verbal vows reinforced by rites the meaning of which are more or less obvious. That the two are most intimately linked is stressed in the many 'binding together' rites, and in the use of the *kunkan* (special bangles) used to signify the taking of any sacred vow. That the two must produce children is abundantly symbolized perhaps nowhere more boldly than in the Tamil seed-planting rite. The role of virtuous wife and husband are succinctly expressed in the *saptapadi*, 'the seven steps'.

Throughout the ceremony great attention is paid to the giving of clothing, jewellery, money, food, ritual ingredients. Sometimes one item alone is given, more often a number of ritually associated items are given together. To the casual Western observer the constant gift-giving may appear to have a strong commercial flavour but though commercial motives may, and sometimes do, exist, they are strongly condemned by South African Hindu, orthodox and reform. There should be no idea of purchase or bribery underlying the ritual gifts, which are essential moral and social obligations, highly formalized tokens of respect and honour. Should the gifts from the one family be below the standard expected by the other, there is open criticism, not through greed, but because paucity indicates non-appreciation of the social status of the recipient.¹ The various gifts, known by specific terms, carry several social meanings. They are a recognised means of initiating new social relationships. Thus among the Hindi-speaking group *Neg* is money demanded by sisters- and brothers-in-law for the granting of new privileges such as entering the groom's or bride's home for the first time. Gifts also show goodwill. 'A gift is something from the self. You give to make

friendship. When you make offerings to the gods, you please them. What you give shows your faith. When you give yourself to god in complete meditation you attain the greatest happiness and liberation (*moksha*)'.

Gifts create reciprocal obligation. It is becoming customary to give gifts in the form of money, and among the Hindustani the money given by the guests and known as *nawtha*, is kept by the father of the bride and groom to cover expenses, and is never given to the young couple. *Nawtha* (invitation money) is distinct from other gifts, e.g. *paupoojee* given by immediate relatives. The father makes a note of each *nawtha* and there is an obligation to return at least the same amount at the first opportunity. The transaction has been described as 'credit without interest'. At *paupoojee*, foot worship, relatives bring presents of *thari* and *lota* (the traditional brass plate and vessel), clothing (usually dyed calico), money and coconuts. These *paupoojee* gifts were explained—'This is a social act (*dharma*). The girl who formerly performed all services as a duty to her people has been transferred to the husband's family, and those services, which before her people could demand as a right, and for which they could punish her if not fulfilled, she may now offer as a favour. By giving her gifts they '*mol*' (buy) this favour—it is not their legal right. No person who took part in the *paupoojee* may eat at the girl's future home until they have given her gifts'. The moral importance of a gift comes out very clearly in the '*kanyadhan*' (gift of the virgin), which is regarded by very orthodox as 'an act by the bride's parents paving their way to *moksha* (ultimate liberation from the cycle of life and death). Hence, once she is married, they may take nothing from her or her husband, or their final liberation would be delayed'.

It is also part of the *dharma* of the married, to look well after dependants. The householder is enjoined to attain temporary security through

¹A priest quoted to me sections from the *Code of Manu* in which the purpose of wedding gifts was made explicit. 'Married women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers and brothers, by their husbands and by the brethren of their husbands if they seek abundant prosperity'. Again, 'a wife being gaily adorned, her whole house is embellished, but if she be destitute of ornaments, all will be deprived of their decoration'. (*Manu* III, 54-61). It flows from this that a widow does not adorn herself, and there is a special ritual in which her jewels are removed.

wealth, and the value of prosperity speaks in traditional coinage, more especially gold, the most permanent and the one metal 'which never tarnishes'. Copper and silver coins are usually taken by specific assistants; the gold is for the couple and their parents. The offerings in the Tamil marriage of a gold coin to the girl's mother for her care and her refusal to accept it illustrates the maternal role 'she doesn't want money for her daughters. Let them rather use that gold to look after the girl'. This rite was also explained as follows: 'The distinction made by marriage between one's own and one's wife's kin is symbolized in the "golden guinea for breast milk"; brings the girl into the kin of the husband to pray for his dead and not to those of her own family.'

The social obligations inaugurated by marriage are accompanied by invocations to various deities representing different aspects or qualities of the Divine, e.g. *Vishnu* (the Preserver), *Indra* (his wife, i.e. the female counterpart), *Agni* (Fire, Light), *Surya* (Sun), *Bhumi* (Earth), the first prayers usually being made to *Ganessa*, Elephant-headed god of wisdom and remover of obstacles. At every stage of the ceremony the Divine is an essential witness. Among the Hindustani the most sacred rite—the placing of *sindhoor* (red lead) on the bride's head—is hidden from the audience—'God is the great witness'. Among the Tamil 'the *thali* is tied round a coconut, the symbol of purity, and shown to the people.' The nuptial pole, is smeared with ingredients sacred to temple images and 'becomes a *pratik* (image, symbol, of the divine)'. The ritual also aims at establishing equilibrium with the total environment, for it is a basic tenet of Hinduism that all things in the cosmos (man, elements, planets, etc.) interact on each other. Hence time is interpreted as propitious or unpropitious (the almanac is not a mechanical computer); space is influenced by movements of sun and stars and ritual directions are regulated accordingly; numbers are seen as relations of things in the Universe and odd and even are lucky or unlucky.

In some societies the distinction between the

sacred and profane is more narrow than in others; among orthodox Hindu the distinction is often impossible to make. Where the gulf is wide, symbols for each may be clear and separate, but where it is narrow or non-existent symbols readily extend from the sacred to the profane. Among the Hindu things that appear secular are easily interpreted in religious terms and drawn into the religious orbit. The Supreme is in everything and in Itself. I suggest that where there is a materialist concept of society, separate ritual exists for both the social order and for the sacred, and may or may not coincide, but where, as among the Hindu there is a basic assumption of the sacred cosmos with an interaction of all its parts, including human beings, symbols will be diffuse and overlap.

SOUTH AFRICAN CHARACTERISTICS

In conclusion I shall mention some of the factors that seem to me to differentiate Durban Hindu marriage customs from Brahminic marriage customs in India. The social group is differently defined: in South Africa the unit is a language group, indicating a difference in traditional local origin; in India the unit is a caste and locality. The term Hindustani is never applied in India to a cultural group but only to a language where as in South Africa it applies to both. The language spoken by the 'Hindustani' in South Africa is described as Hindi or as Hindustani. The group is similarly called Hindi or Hindustani.

Present-day marriages in South Africa cannot be analysed in any rigid caste framework, even when caste is a factor in choice of spouse¹. There is little parallel to the complicated interaction of caste functionaries typical of conservative weddings in India, nor is there the same caste significance attached to the sharing of foods as in India where guests partake of *pakka* food (foods cooked in ghee) and *kacha* food (food cooked in water) in terms of caste hierarchy.

Hindu marriage in South Africa is one of several types of religious marriage and in itself

¹See my article "Changes in Caste of South African Indians," *Race Relations Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 1955, pp. 18-26.

does not legalize a union. Every Hindu marriage must be registered, and a civil marriage alone is sufficient for legal purposes. In India the religious ceremony sufficed.

Only one marriage may be registered for each partner in South Africa, and polygamy (permitted by Hinduism) is prohibited. A very small number of Hindu men in South Africa have second wives by Hindu marriage custom, but these marriages are not legal and the children are illegitimate.

The attitude towards Indian marriages has been part of the political, rather than the social, or religious interaction of different ethnic groups in South Africa. In 1910 a legal judgment declared that no marriage could be regarded as legal if celebrated according to a religion practising polygamy. This became one of the major issues of the Passive Resistance Movement of 1913. In 1914 the Indian Relief Act recognized Indian marriage rites.

Marriages of girls under 16 years and boys under 18 are still practised in parts of India, but are legally prohibited in South Africa¹. In parts of North India from which many South African

Hindu originally came there were three parts in the ceremony.

- (1) The engagement which took place when the girl is quite small (three or four years old);
- (2) the religious marriage when she was seven or eight, after which she was sent back to her parents;
- (3) the consummation which took place after she had had her first menstruation (twelve-thirteen years).

Infant betrothal continues to a limited extent in South Africa, either by the expression of preferential claims from certain relatives (among South Indians) or by promises made between friends eager to cement their friendship. In some cases a baby girl is 'booked' for the friend's son and the children grow up with this 'understanding', but the age at which the marriage is ritualized as well as consummated is higher in South Africa than in India. In South Africa the most popular age of marriage is sixteen—twenty years for the girls and for boys between nineteen—twenty-seven years; in a sample of eighty-six religious marriages in a Hindu urban group the range was as follows.

Age ..	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Girls	2	2	2	16	24	20	4	12	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Boys	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	12	8	20	4	4	4	8	4	4	0	4

In South Africa a boy should marry a girl younger than himself, but only by a few years. 'The son-in-law is older than the father' is a common joke against a husband who is many years his wife's senior². In Durban a man only marries a girl older than himself under most unusual circumstances and it is assumed that such a marriage is contracted for material benefits to the boy's group.

Perhaps because until recently the proportion of men exceeded that of women, remarriage of widows has been the accepted practice in South Africa though a widow is seldom taken by a man

as his first and only wife, and is usually remarried to a widower.

Any registered marriages can be legally dissolved under South African law; in India legislation permitting Hindu divorce was only passed in 1955. The divorce rate among South Africa Hindu is, however, very low, the majority considering the religious ritual binding on both parties until death. There are a number of so-called Hindu in Natal who have not been through any religious ritual, but it is anticipated that they will do so eventually.

¹H. Kuper, "The South African Indian Family", in *The Indian as a South African*. South African Institute of Race Relations, 1956, p. 24.

²Among some of the caste forbears of South India, the bride was older than the groom, vide E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1911. Vol. III, p. 240.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE BHACA FIRST FRUIT FESTIVAL

From Dr W. D. HAMMOND-TOOKE,

UMTATA, TRANSKEI

I should be obliged if you could publish the following note to my article on "The Function of Annual First Fruit Festivals in Baca Social Structure", *African Studies*, 12, 2, 1953, pp. 75-87:

Further investigation of the *ingcube* first fruits festival of the East Griqualand Bhaca has shown that, like the Zulu and Swazi (and presumably other tribes who practise this rite), they also have the ritual criticism of the chief as an integral part of the cycle of rites; in fact the ceremony is a typical 'ritual of rebellion' as described by M. Gluckman in the Frazer Lecture for 1952 ("Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa"). He considers this phenomenon as a type of catharsis, a sociologically important outlet for the emotions of rivalry and rebellion which are generated within the framework of a repetitive social structure.

That the stresses imposed by this bold and seemingly paradoxical handling of an important structural problem sometimes prove too much for the restraint of the participants is shown from an episode in Bhaca history. Tradition relates that at an *ingcube* ceremony held by the great chief Ncaphayi he took such exception to the upbraiding of his brother, Dliwakho, that he struck him, wounding him above the eye with an assegai. The tribe immediately split along the inherent lines of cleavage and Dliwakho, with a large section, moved into Pondoland. Ncaphayi followed him and, due to his great prestige and popularity, the breach was eventually healed.

This type of development must have been comparatively unusual in Nguni political annals but it illustrates the psychological stresses generated by the rites. As Gluckman points out, it is only in societies in which the social order is accepted without criticism that such dramatic representation of anatagonism and rebellion can be permitted.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Economic Development of Nigeria. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 1955. xxii+666 pp., maps, diags., tables, appendices and index. \$7.50.

This book is one of a number of reports made by the General Survey Missions and published for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development by the Johns Hopkins Press. Among similar reports are those on Turkey, Ceylon and Mexico. An extract from the preface of this book gives a good summary of its scope and of the methods by which the data therein were collected and compiled.

"The task of the mission, as agreed upon by the two governments (of the United Kingdom and of Nigeria) and the Bank was to assess the resources available for future development, to study the possibilities for development in the major sectors of the economy and to make recommendations for practical steps to be taken, including the timing and co-ordination of developmental activities. The mission consisted of ten full-time members and five part-time consultants. Three of the experts on agriculture were nominated by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations; one (the adviser on money and banking) is a member of the regular staff of the International Monetary Fund; six members (the experts on transportation, mineral resources, education, roads, water resources and power) were recruited by the Bank from outside its staff. The other five members are members of the Bank's regular staff. . . .

The mission's report consists of three parts. Part I, the General Report, contains the mission's principal recommendations for the organization and financing of a five-year programme of development. Part II consists of a series of Technical Reports on economic and financial resources; agriculture; water resources; industry, mining and power; transportation and communications; and education. Part III contains five appendices, consisting mainly of statistical data."

Seldom has so large and so highly qualified a team been sent on an economic mission anywhere. The resulting report is a superb document of calmly stated facts. Nigeria has indeed been fortunate in having her economic situation so well and truly assessed.

To understand the magnitude of the task undertaken it is necessary to record that Nigeria has an area of approximately 373,000 square miles and an estimated population of about 33,000,000 of whom all but about 16,000 are European. It is the largest of the British dependencies and is about four times the area of the United Kingdom.

The mission shows that there is a high rate of illiteracy and a low *per capita* income (approximately £21 p.a.) and that industry's contribution to the production of income was less than 2 per cent. Hence it is clear that industry has much leeway to make up in the general economy of Nigeria. 98 per cent of the gross domestic income of £680,000,000 represents the income by Nigerians; only 2 per cent is due to payments of dividends, interest to foreign countries and payments to non-Africans in Nigeria. Such figures show how lopsided is the present economy.

The mission points out that much of Nigeria still looks to the Government, which it nevertheless distrusts, for the fulfilment of its aspirations. These two attitudes tend to retard Nigeria's development (p. 21). Thus the Mission points out that the need for self-help is not understood by the African businessman who looks to the Government for aid in the expansion of his business instead of joining with others in a partnership. Self-help is not understood by rural communities who demand dispensaries and schools but are not prepared to pay for them by increased taxation. Self-help is not understood by those who deplore graft and corruption in the service but are unwilling to take any preventive action. On the other hand co-operative movements do well and offer a means of ensuring economic development. There is also the cordial

relationship that exists between African and non-African, lacking in many other regions, that bodes well for the development of Nigeria. There is, however, the serious challenge to a general development of Nigeria in the antagonisms between peoples of different languages and cultures. This challenge, ethnocentrism or the 'In-group-Out-group' attitude, cannot be easily met and to it outside advice can provide no answer. "Only the Nigerian leaders can make their people understand that economic progress and material welfare depend on national unity and individual initiative" (p. 23).

"While the individual African is very often a very successful businessman, his business is a one-man affair, the business community's great weakness is its lack of managerial experience" (p. 25). The mission thus points out that "before there can be any great economic expansion there must be a great increase in the volume of government activity in virtually all fields" (p. 31). The mission then examines these needs under various governmental departments and makes recommendations how to meet these needs. In addition any expansion anywhere is "dependent upon an adequate supply of skilled man power" (p. 34); and of this supply there is, as almost anywhere else in the world, a conspicuous dearth. Nigeria must set about remedying these defects from her own resources and in this connection the following comments by the mission are illuminating: "Under competent guidance, Nigerians learn skills easily and show considerable ingenuity. . . . The workers are careful, have surprisingly few accidents, and in the better plants show a low rate of absenteeism. . . . Nigerian workers promoted from the ranks perform well as foremen, handling crews of forty-fifty capably and sympathetically" (p. 348). In the plywood industry established at Sapele "Africans promoted to supervisory posts are performing well and labour productivity compares favourably with that of European labour in similar plants" (p. 393). In the case of a metal-container-making industry at Apapa "the mission was informed that the output per man-hour compares favourably with that of similar

plants operated by the same company elsewhere" (p. 400). About telephones the mission remarks, "skilled or not, the operator in Nigeria has to handle about 30 per cent more subscribers than his counterpart in Europe" (p. 552).

The mission reviews the present economic system; and on p. 66 discusses the ports and waterways in broad outline, recommending that, for instance, Port Harcourt should be greatly extended to cope with increasing traffic. When the details are discussed (p. 516) one finds that it is unlikely that Port Harcourt will ever be able to cope with the increasing traffic from the north; and when Calabar, as a port on the Cross river is discussed, no mention is made of opening a new ocean port at Oron. Here for ocean liners a berthage length on the Cross river of two miles is available, starting from the mouth of the Uya-Oron creek and going up-stream therefrom. Along the Uya-Oron creek for a quarter of a mile are berthing facilities also, for river craft drawing fourteen feet. A railway line from Aba to Oron would relieve the congestion at Port Harcourt. It would also pay its way on passenger traffic since a million people live between Aba and Oron. Only two medium-sized bridges, one across the Imo and the other across the Azumine, would have to be built.

The mission, while advocating the expansion of training centres to produce skilled artisans has not faced the problem of the future employment of these technicians. Four-fifths of Nigeria's population are either farmers, fishers, herders, hunters or lumbermen with a per capita income of £21 p.a. (p. 12). Hence what market is there for e.g. a local craftsman, say a carpenter, to sell his products? To make a wooden door with hinges and rim lock will cost over £2. So the purchase of one door eats up a tenth of the average man's annual earnings! Not until the per capita earnings are much increased will there be opportunities for the technician to earn a living outside of Government, Municipal or large firms' employment. There are only 18 towns with a population exceeding 50,000. The need for technical skill has long been recognized. The first industrial

school was founded at Eket in 1896! Very little is said about exploiting the very rich fish resources of the tropical seas that lie off the Nigerian coasts. Instead, a new venture is advocated, namely the creation of fish industries. This project should not be difficult to start in the Warri province where in 1934 I saw in use along the banks of the Niger fish storage ponds. Fish caught in the Niger were placed in these ponds and drawn on as and when needed. It is but a short step from using these ponds as stores into converting them into producing fish ponds. The mission makes no mention of establishing a fish pond industry in the British Cameroons where crater lakes exist and where other lakes could be created by building dam walls of no great magnitude. The example of the Kumba crater lake which is stocked with *talapia* and yields a continuous fish harvest comes to mind. There are also fish-pond potentialities in the Mbo plains.

There is a good assessment of the Regional Production Department Boards of Nigeria, of their activities, aims, successes and failures and useful recommendations are made by the mission for the future of these RPDB's.

The question of independent status involves an autonomous and independent banking system. In 1952 Mr. Fisher, adviser to the Bank of England, advised against the establishment of a central Nigerian bank. This present mission recommends, on very good grounds, the creation of such a bank, able to issue loans and currency against sterling balances. This mission also urges the immediacy of training Africans in banking practice and banking in general. There are at the moment in Nigeria two very successful African banks run by Africans only.

The financial strength of Nigeria is shown to be remarkably sound. Nigeria in 1953 had sterling balances, i.e. external assets, of £207 million. "This level of external assets of banking and official and semi-official institutions is quite unusual. In March, 1953, not one of the 20 Latin American republics had such reserves. In the independent sterling area only Australia and India had greater assets. South Africa's total

gold and foreign exchange reserves were less than two-thirds as large." (p. 145). As a consequence these Nigerians do things on a grand scale. Thus the Cocoa Marketing Board has made an endowment of £1,000,000 to the faculty of agriculture at University College, Ibadan (p. 214). An endowment of £1,000,000 not to the university but to one faculty in the university must make any university in South Africa envious. It is also startling to learn that one of the largest veneer and plywood mills in the world is in Nigeria (p. 345). Thrift among the lower income groups is revealed by the fact that in 1953 the amount in the Post Office Savings bank was £4,059,000 (p. 161).

The remark (p. 206) that palm kernel oil is not consumed locally is open to doubt. Both the Ibo and the Ibibio use this oil for rubbing on their bodies especially during the Harmattan.

The statement (p. 212) that cocoa beans "after a period of fermentation are dried, graded and roasted" is inaccurate. No roasting of the beans is done in Africa.

The recommendation on page 236 that steps be taken to see whether it is not possible to grow tea on the British Cameroons seems premature. Tea is a European crop with a very limited habitat. Why then devote time and money exploring possibilities when there is a local oil crop in extensive cultivation for whose development the mission makes no provision except a passing reference on p. 369. I refer to castor oil. At least two varieties are grown in Nigeria. One, a small bean but whose capsules when exposed to the sun explode and scatter the beans which then just require sweeping up, and the other type with a large bean but in which each capsule is at present hand-cracked, thus increasing the labour for its recovery. The oil is used as a cosmetic in the dry season to prevent the skin from cracking and as an illuminant for lamps. It has also astonished me that no reference is made to the report prepared by the Government statistician Mr. Jacobs. Another instance is the lack of any reference to the work of Fitzgerald Moore in the South and of MacCulloch in the North on nutrition.

The mission omits to state why Colocasia (p. 244) is grown, no doubt in ignorance. The Colocasia is a crop that never fails. Come flood, or drought or locusts, the Colocasia produces some food. To plant it is an insurance against abject famine. The statement that Kola is grown in cocoa areas is only part of the truth. The Kola trade of Yola and Lake Tchad relies on the trees grown in the cold highlands of Bamenda where cocoa would not grow.

In the matter of sugar-cane the many square miles of fresh-water swamp in the valleys of the Mecham, the Ndop plain, the marshes of the Nun and the Mbo plains of Bamenda have been overlooked as possible sites for plantations.

About the fibres, no mention (p. 259) is made of the wild and cultivated *Fleureya* of Bamenda. These plants will give five foot long fibre lengths.

On page 270 it is stated that breeding experiments are being undertaken to increase the size of the *muturu* or dwarf short-horn (*Bos brachyceros*) of Nigeria. No mention is made of the article that I published in the *Veterinary Record* (Vol. 65, Nos. 25, 26, June, 1953) showing that the size of the *Bos brachyceros* was a specific character of this breed.

Remarks on the size of local markets appear to astonish the mission who refer to 10,000 as attending the Ikare market; but 10,000 is a very ordinary figure for the large markets of the South and of the Cameroons.

The mission rightly points out the loss of cereal produce by inadequate storage facilities to protect the grain against rodents and weevils (p. 291). It seems that an immediate step can be taken by supplying a cylindrical metal container nine inches in diameter and three feet high whose sides are perforated with apertures too small to admit insects but whose perforations are sufficient to aerate the contents and so keep the grain dry and free from mildew. The amount of grain saved in three years from destruction by rodents and weevils would pay for the container. Here then is an immediate augmentation of the local food supply and this increase has a bearing on nutrition.

The recommendations (p. 304) for increasing

the experimental farms fails to note that many of the sites suggested are identical from the points of ecology, geology and climatology. Some of these sites should be abandoned. Others could also be cancelled if a closer liaison were made with experimental stations in French Equatorial Africa. The experimental station at Victoria (p. 309) in the Cameroons could be closed. It lies in an area of excessively high rainfall not paralleled anywhere else in West Africa.

In the discussion on water resources not a word is mentioned about boreholes and the great borehole operations carried out by the Nigerian Government in Northern Nigeria (see Cochram, H. A. *Technique of Well-Sinking in Nigeria*, Lagos, 1937).

The wages paid to African foremen vary from £220 to £600 or more per annum (p. 349). While the idea of providing a quota for the day's work where, having completed his task, the worker is free to go home no matter what the hour is, may be novel in Nigeria, it is not new to South Africa where its use is widespread in agriculture.

Among the industrial projects that might be investigated (p. 365) are the titanium sands of the upper reaches of the Donga river.

From this report one gathers that the United Africa Coy. were the first to introduce mechanized large-scale palm oil mills (p. 373), yet before 1914 Lever Bros. had installed at Opobo a Palm Kernel mill costing £90,000. Then there was a private company that ran in 1920 an oil mill at Ibagwa; and later another was started on the Cross river. These three mills were all in the Calabar province.

The recommendation that where there are such extensive waterways, small river craft should be constructed and power-motored for Africans, has not met with much success. This lack of success is strange when one recollects that the Owikeno Kwakiutl, Mongoe food-gatherers of British Columbia, have taken readily to motor-power boats and supply the canneries with much of their fish (*Social Life of the Owikeno Kwakiutl* by R. L. Olson. University of California Press. 1954). Such boat-building

should be encouraged and if necessary at first subsidized. The attempt to license such boats reminds me of an unsuccessful attempt to tax canoes. An administrative officer protested saying that canoes were to the water people what feet were to land lubbers, and the tax was never imposed.

It is not explained why the recommendations for new roads (p. 504) visualize the construction of a new heavy traffic road from Kumba to Buea in the Cameroons. What is more important is the extension of the Enugu-Abakaliki road to Mamfe and Bamenda to link up with the great French road system of the French Cameroons.

The question of university education for Nigerian students is interesting in view of South Africa's decision to provide separate universities for the Bantu. The mission points out that "the estimates show the recurrent annual expenditure by the University College to be considerably in excess of £1,000 per student, an amount substantially greater than the cost of providing a student with a year's study in England."

In spite of minor omissions it is clearly apparent that this report on the economic development of Nigeria is a most profound and searching contribution and is a *sine qua non* in public, banking, commercial and economic libraries. The information and data presented will be consulted for many years to come and the report will be the guide for the future development of Nigeria.

"The cotton strainer" (bottom of page 223) should be "the cotton stainer"

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland, Vol. II. I. RICHARDSON. Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London. 1957. 95 pp., map. 25s.

This constitutes the more detailed evidence for Part I (the report of the Western Team) of the Linguistic Survey Vol. I, which appeared in

1956. As was pointed out in a review of Vol. I, appraisalment of the classification had to be withheld pending the publication of the material on which it was based. Now, on seeing the material for Part I, appraisalment is still most difficult. The information presented is, in very many instances, far too meagre for a judgment to be made. This the compiler himself frequently admits.

The publication, however, does contain valuable material; but it can only be considered a pointer to further intensive research. It is obvious that the research team was given an impossible task in the time at its disposal. The field is far too big and far too complex for any two men to attempt, even in a considerable number of years.

Constant references reveal that the compiler of this report fully realized that. For instance, on page 32 (dealing with ngayaba) he notes: "Sound change and vowel harmony seem to operate in such a high degree that it would be impossible to systematize the vowels without intensive research." And: "In view of the highly complicated sound changes . . . it is difficult to distinguish C1.4 from C1.6, or to establish whether these are really one and the same class." Again on p. 49 (dealing with Tikar): "In many cases the system is impossible to establish from the material gathered"; or (p. 54), when referring to Keaka: "It is very difficult to say without considerable research what type of agreement occurs in these dialects"—and that information is vital. I have every sympathy with the writer. He was given an impossible task.

What the report does reveal is that there are languages of such a type as demands a detailed and exhaustive study, even though they may be spoken by limited numbers of people. One such is Nyo'ɔ (pp. 29 *et seq.*), which presents most interesting phonetical and grammatical material. Another is the Bamileke group (pp. 61 *et seq.*).

Certain general suggestions might be made for the future:

- (1) The sending of different expert research workers to limited areas to make intensive

investigations, with time for each to get a working knowledge of one of the languages as a vehicle of communication with the people.

- (2) The preparation of a detailed, exhaustive bibliography of the languages of the area, with critical appraisal.
- (3) The treatment of Sub-Bantu languages quite separate from the Bantu. There is a wide divergence of type between such a language as Pande (as presented on pp. 34 *et seq.*), with its lack of a recognizable class system (apart from some distinction between animates and inanimates), and ngando, a typical Bantu language, with which it is linked in classification (Pande No. 1.49 and ngando No. 1.50). Further Mbati (No. 1.51) is another Sub-Bantu language more akin to Pande; yet the group, under the heading of "Bantu Languages" is termed "Pande-ngando-Mbati". The compiler's own comment on p. 42 is: "It is difficult to evaluate the relevance of many indications of affinity in this area."
- (4) The preparation of comparative word-lists of not less than 100 words; such words to be carefully chosen to reveal: (a) typical Bantu roots, (b) more localized Bantu alternative roots, and (c) words of likely divergent origin; verbs as well as nouns, numerals and other qualifying stems to be included.
- (5) Other than "Bantu" methods should also be applied. I am in full agreement with the author's remark on p. 64: "The foregoing remarks serve to indicate that adequate treatment of Bamileke languages requires a different technique from that applied to Bantu languages and a more intensive research programme than the time at our disposal permitted." Surely borderland, even "Bantu borderland", languages justify attack from both sides. Investigators should approach them with an open mind to discover their real characteristics and affinities. Why not watch out for "Sudanoid" and "Sub-Sudanic" languages, as well as "Bantoid" and "Sub-Bantu"? Johnston's term "Semi-

Bantu" implied this. When one finds in Pamunguup, for instance (p. 65), that there are "no extra independent prefixes with locative function", no "copula or link" used, but juxtaposition of "independent nominals" occurring, it gives one furiously to think.

It is obvious that such hurried research, as was forced on these workers, can only give sketchy results, upon which sound conclusions cannot be based.

C.M.D.

La langue Ntomba, telle qu'elle est parlée au Lac Tumba et dans la région avoisinante. M. MAMET. *Annals of the Royal Museum of the Belgian Congo*, Tervuren, Belgium. *Humanistic Sciences: Linguistics*, Vol. II. 1955. 377 pp.

The author tells us that Ntomba is spoken by tribes which, in the course of the ethnic migrations in the Congo region, formed the advance guard of the Mongo group, and thus came into contact with neighbouring tribes—Basakata in the case of the Southern Ntomba of Lake Leopold II, and Bobangi in the case of the Northern Ntomba, with whose language this work deals. Described in the simplest and most generalized terms, he further tells us, this language has a Mongo grammar and a largely Bobangi vocabulary. Such border and hybrid languages are always of interest and value to the student of linguistics in general, and particularly so to the specialist in the particular field in which they occur.

The bulk of the book is occupied by lexicographical material—over 180 pages Ntomba-French, and some 90 pages French-Ntomba. We are, however, also given, in about 50 pages, material relating to phonetics, sound-changes, and sound-attributes, including some on tonetics and tone-changes, together with a useful sketch of morphology and syntax. Finally, there are some 30 pages of Ntomba text—mostly, though not invariably, with French rendering—in the

form of some animal-stories, invocations, sayings and proverbs, riddles, a letter, a passage from the translation of the Acts of the Apostles, and of formulae of politeness. It will be seen, therefore, that in addition to its avowed objects of furnishing material to the student of comparative Bantu linguistics and of encouraging the African intellectual *élite* of the future to preserve and foster their indigenous linguistic heritage, the work may well serve a third—that of being a most useful handbook for the practical study of the language by those to whom it is wholly or partly foreign.

The author is most modest regarding the value of his work, and regarding criticism which may be levelled against it. Any such criticisms as to the content of the material offered can, of course, come only from those with detailed knowledge of the Congo field. From the point of view of those of us with only the most superficial knowledge of that field, all that can be offered is of the most general nature. For one thing, respectable in quantity as the material certainly is, and excellent in quality as we have every reason to believe it to be, it cannot be regarded as meeting the demands we are by now entitled to make upon a fully-fledged phonetic, grammatical and/or lexicological study, or even text-book, of the language, though any such more ambitious work or works will inevitably be considerably indebted to this book for material which they will be glad to build upon. For another, it would have been instructive—especially in view of what the author has told us regarding the dual nature of the language—if we had been given some even slightly more detailed indication of just which elements are derived from the one factor in this dualism, and which from the other. Let us hope that, out of the wealth of his knowledge, the author will give us that some day.

G.P.L.

Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875-1900.

D. A. Low. East African Inst. of Social Research, Kampala, n.d., 1957. 16pp. 3s.6d.

In thrifty, lucid writing Mr. Low has given a convincing cause-and-effect exposition of the conversion to Christianity of the Baganda and has traced the history of the rise to power of the Christian faction.

Circumstances favoured the missionaries at the start of their work at the Kabaka's court and permitted their integration into Baganda political life. Ironically, the presence of Islamic influence helped them in converting the Baganda to Christianity. The conversion was proved by a period of persecution and exile of the Christians who two years later fought their way back and secured for themselves the government of the country. The self-generated impetus of the Baganda Christians in their rise to power is one of the most remarkable facets of this very interesting piece of African history.

More might have been written on the relations between the missionaries and the British administration, whose advent passes almost unnoticed, and also on the latter's effect on the existing political structure. It is interesting to contrast this treatment of the missionaries with their castigation by Mukherjee as "... pawns in the imperialist game . . . the 'spiritual' (*sic*) or the 'pioneer' flank of the army of official and non-official rulers . . ." (Ramkrishna Mikherjee, *The Problem of Uganda*, Berlin, 1956, p. 117).

G. B. SILBERBAUER

Tribal Map of Negro Africa: Map N and Tribal

Key. Research and preparation by C. BRUCE HUNTER. Man and Nature Publications, American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1956. 61 pp., folding map 34" × 28".

Anyone who undertakes the preparation of a tribal map of Negro Africa faces an enormous and difficult task, but nevertheless an extremely important one. For many areas information is scanty and unreliable; there is the bewildering variety of names and synonyms, for each tribe is likely to have, in addition to its own name as used by its members, a number of nicknames

used by neighbouring peoples, which names and nicknames are often not distinguished in the literature; different spellings of names and their synonyms occur in the literatures of different European languages, and at different historical periods in these literatures; the orthographies of African languages may themselves undergo changes; two or more quite distinct tribes, sometimes in close proximity to one another, sometimes widely separated, may have the same name; two or more closely related tribes, or sections of tribes, may have the same name but be widely separated; and, when one has finally found the "correct" name of the tribe, there is still the problem of how to deal with those prefixes and suffixes which occur so extensively in African languages and tribal names, and contrive always to confuse and mislead the uninitiated. All this means that anyone who undertakes the preparation of such a map must know his African geography and ethnography, and know them well; he must be thoroughly familiar with the literature on the subject, and with the problems to be faced; and he must have at least a little knowledge of the types of linguistic structures involved.

Mr Hunter, who is in the Department of Public Instruction in the American Museum of Natural History, warns us that the map can give only the approximate locations of tribes, and refers to the problems of variant forms and spellings of names, of nicknames, of homonymous names, etc. But despite his apparent awareness of at least some of the pitfalls, he has come to grief time and again. The data in the key is set out in four columns: a number for each basic name, which number appears also on the map to show the approximate locality of the tribe; the name itself, with synonyms, etc., in parentheses; the map location, based on a letter and number grid; and the bibliography number, giving reference to the sources listed at the end of the key. The names are listed in alphabetical order, synonyms, etc., being unnumbered, but with references to the appropriate basic names. Thus we find "Akikuyu (SEE Kikuyu)", "Amazulu (SEE Xhosa)", "Amazulu

(SEE Zulu)", etc.—a good start! But then, unaccountably, "Awemba (SEE Babemba)", and worse, "Herero (SEE Ovaherero)", etc. However, some of the best howlers are found among the basic names. Each of the following is presented as a different tribe: 153 Bamangwato, 660 Mangwato, 765 Ngwato; 181 Bangwaketse, 764 Ngwaketse; 517 Kgatla, 564 Kxatla; 242 Bavenda, 957 Venda; 33 Akamba, 493 Kamba, 970 Wakamba; 234 Bathonga, 321 Changanes, Ronga (SEE Tonga), 831 Rongas [this number does not appear on the map], 918 Tonga (Ronga), 998 Xitongas; and so on and on and on.

Most intriguing too, is to find where these "tribes" are placed on the map. The "Kwan-yama" (562) are situated [correctly] just to the north of the South West Africa-Angola border, but the "Vakwanyama" (951) are in central South West Africa, in the vicinity of Windhoek—actually 250 miles or more south of Kwan-yama territory! The "Bakwena" (135) are located more or less correctly in Bechuanaland Protectorate, but the "Kwena" (563) are placed in the vicinity of Mafeking, Cape Province, which is Rolong territory! The "Barolong" (207) are displaced almost 200 miles to the west of their actual habitat, while the "Rolong" (830) do not appear on the map at all; nor for that matter do either the "Basuto" (229) or the "Sotho south" (875), not to mention a number of others recorded in the key—and one could list scores of well-known names which do not appear in the key!

But this is by no means all. The key includes such gems as the "Bulawayo" (301) and "Beira" (251) tribes, located near the cities bearing these names, while Portuguese East Africa is also credited with a "Limpopo" tribe (587). One might expect the "Lobatsi" tribe (590), if it existed, to be in the vicinity of Lobatsi in Bechuanaland Protectorate, but the map places it in the Transvaal, near Lichtenburg! Finally, the map location for the "Mombasa" tribe (709) is given as L 15, but unfortunately the grid numbers take us no further than 13—if they did, we should have to search for the lost tribe somewhere east of Madagascar.

One need say no more. For each example quoted above there are numerous other similar ones, and I have not troubled to examine more than a quarter of the names listed for Bantu Africa, which, of course, is but a fraction of the total area. The bibliography contains a mere 49 items, and not a single one of the volumes produced by the International African Institute in the "Handbook of African Languages" series—all of which have maps and present the most up-to-date information available on names of languages and tribes. Other omissions and deficiencies are too numerous to detail here. The tragedy is that not only are precious funds dissipated on "research" of this type, but yet further moneys are squandered on publication of the results.

D. T. COLE

Dictionary of Anthropology. C. WINICK. Peter Owen, Ltd., London. 1957. vii+579 pp. 50s.

This is a poor book. The annotating of many of the terms selected has been perfunctorily done and there is a definite American slant. The following examples illustrate this point:

"*Animal, white*: White animals were of special supernatural value to the American Indians", etc.—but so are they also in the Old World! What of the white cock sacrificed by Socrates?

Animatism: There is no reference to Marret who coined the word in 1899.

The statement (p. 47) that the *astrolabe* was probably used thousands of years before the Christian era cannot be accepted unless a positive reference is given.

"*Beer, banana*, a beer made from bananas drunk in Central America"—but the banana is an Old World plant and banana beer was known there before America was discovered!

Belzoni, G. B.: There is no mention that he died at Gato, near Benin.

Bilharziasis: This disease appears to be confined to Egypt according to the dictionary.

"*Bogadi*. An African term for bride-price." It would have been just as easy to say it is the Sotho-Tswana term and so be precise and not vague.

Lobolo, spelt correctly, is described as a purchase of the bride.

Bundling is explained as a method of saving fuel, but as bundling took place all the year round this explanation fails.

"*Drum*. A percussion musical instrument"—but so is a pair of cymbals or a triangle. The essence of a drum is that it has a tympanum that is percussed.

"*Drum, incision* . . . The incision drum is often regarded as female." It is only the high tone note that is female, the lower tone is male.

"*Fittest, survival of the*: Darwin's doctrine that the organisms that adapt most easily survive through the operations of natural selection." Not a word that "survival of the fittest" was never coined by Darwin but by Spencer.

"*Hlonipa*. A prohibition against mentioning a dead person by name" is, from a South African point of view, a very unsatisfactory description of this custom.

"*Kageen*. The Bushman name for the Mantis (q.v.)." The correct spelling is "Kaggen", with "Kaang" as an alternative. But there is no mention of the role of the *mantis* in Semitic cultures.

Though "deisal" is given, its opposite "wider-shins" or "withershins" is not listed.

"*Witchcraft* originally meant the work of a female corcerer." This statement is wrong. A female sorcerer practises black magic, a witch practises witchcraft, two totally different things.

Enough examples have been selected to show how unreliable is the information offered in this *Dictionary of Anthropology* to discredit it as a dictionary. There is a pressing need for a dictionary of anthropology but this book does not meet that need.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

Russian Tales and Legends. CHARLES DOWNING.

Illustrated by Joan Kiddell-Monroe. Oxford University Press, London. 1956. 231 pp. 12s. 6d.

These tales are marked for "All Ages", an indication that beneath their brisk narratives there lies serious material for the historian, the scientist and the artist. Mr Downing has chosen his stories from Russian collections (which are duly acknowledged) and has adapted some of them slightly, with hints, in one instance, from Gogol. His narrative prose is a little stiff though it often melts to the vigour of his material. That our chief collections in English belong to the nineteenth century (Grimm 1823, Anderson 1846, for instance) does not mean that folk and fairy tales should always bear the burden of Victorian formality, though the associations this arouses are admittedly charming. The critical test, however, is to have held the absorbed attention of a nine-year-old, and this Mr Downing's collection survived triumphantly. Joan Kiddell-Monroe's illustrations in the text, whether prosaic or lyrical in feeling, are always energetic and graceful: her plates in tones of red and blue-grey aptly combine force with mystery.

The world we are led into is the Byzantine Middle Ages with its heroes and kings corresponding to our Arthur, Hereward, Guy of Warwick and Robin Hood. "The open plain stretched before them, and before long they came to an old, withered oak tree which marked the point where three roads parted in different directions—the first to Novgorod, the second to the famous city of Kiev and the third to the blue sea." In this ample domain heroic and magical adventures abound but they are vigorous rather than refined, lacking the exquisite manners which the *gestes* of Western Europe drew from Provence.

These are the *byliny*: the *skazki*, or folk-tales, occupy the second part of the book. These are largely the success-stories of younger brothers, paid-off soldiers, blacksmiths, foresters and honest *muzhiks* or peasants. The Russians have a splendid witch, Baba Yaga, who dwells in

surroundings of weird and unfamiliar evil. She appears in several stories and dominates a curious phantom-ridden version of Cinderella. There are no fairies and no dragons. The absence of dragons is particularly strange in view of the popularity of St. George in Russian iconography. Little devils, however, abound without metamorphosis. In Ireland, according to Yeats, the little people were rationalized as fallen angels, "for the devil, when he fell out of heaven took the weak-minded ones with him and they were put into the waste places". In Russia the Church's influence seems to have banished "the gentry" entirely and replaced them with a brood of cunning, hairy, little hell-fry. Only two *leshis* or wood-sprites in "The Magic Berries" remain from the pagan consciousness with which western folklore mixes so easily.

This is a collection, therefore, of magical and heroic short stories and anecdotes, fertile in action, crude in psychology, hierarchical in social assumptions and profoundly normal in moral values. As such their popularity seems to be perennial and no doubt, like the other collections in this series, they testify to the stability of the collective imagination of mankind. Surely it is to this genre that that twentieth-century chap-book, the comic strip, belongs. Such stories as "I-know-not-what of I-know-not-where", with their vivid continuity of episode, inevitably suggest the comic strip, although in Mr Downing's versions they enchant the imagination through a far richer and more evocative medium.

P. C. BIRKINSHAW

Proverbes du Rwanda. LAURENT NKONGORI and THOMAS KAMANZI. Annals of the Royal Museum of the Belgian Congo. Humanistic Sciences, Linguistics, Vol. 14. Tervuren. 1957. 80 pp.

This volume is the work of various hands. The 657 Rwanda proverbs contained in it are selected from a larger collection, most of which was gathered by Bishop Aloys Bigirumwami,

now Vicar Apostolic of Nyundo, when he was parish priest at Muramba. The selection was made, and a French translation of each proverb, together with further explanation of and/or comment on it was furnished, by Father Nkongori, of the Rwanda clergy. Mr Kamanzi, assistant in the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa, transcribed the proverbs into the orthography in which they appear, and also assembled and put at the editor's disposal data for determining the analysis of each proverb, or for checking its translation. The editing was done by Mr A. Coupey, in charge of research at the Institute just mentioned.

Collaboration of this sort—not only between Africans and Europeans, but also between Africans themselves—cannot but be gratifying, and carries with it a high likelihood of being fruitful. It would appear that the three Africans concerned in this book are all Rwanda-speakers, or at least have an intimate knowledge of Rwanda; but they have each contributed differently, according to their special qualifications, to the publication we have before us, as has their European collaborator. It is fitting that the book is dedicated to Bishop Bigirumwami, who, having been responsible for the amassing of the raw material of the collection, magnanimously authorized other workers to anthologize and translate and comment and publish as they thought fit. Father Nkongori deserves the praise Mr Coupey gives him for the pains he has taken to make his French renderings of the Rwanda originals as accurate as possible, and for the further insight which, by means of his explanations and comments, he enables us to obtain into the inner meaning and force of the proverbs. Those who are interested, *inter alia*, in the purely linguistic aspect of the work, will be grateful for the fact that Mr Kamanzi's transcription shows vowel-lengths—a significant feature in Rwanda—and that it brings out at least those tone-differences that are of critical importance. Finally, anyone with experience of editorial work of the kind Mr Coupey has here undertaken will understand how much we are indebted to him.

The proverbs are arranged in alphabetical order according to the initial letter of their first word. Such an arrangement is, of course, of little or no use from a thematic point of view; and so we are also given a thematic index. It is from this, and not from the thematically disjointed main body of the book, that we obtain some systematic view of the themes with which the proverbs deal. These themes range widely over the whole field of general human experience; and the proverbs falling under each theme show, besides much sound psychological insight and good common sense, a great deal of aptness in the fitting of material to idea, and of situations to lessons to be drawn from them. One wonders whether those who will want to read the book would not have been better served if the proverbs had been *arranged* thematically in the main body of the work, and *indexed* under first words or under some other and perhaps more suitable catchword-system. This would have resulted in a more advantageous display of these most interesting specimens of Rwanda folklore.

G. P. LESTRADE

Temo ea boholo-holo Lesotho. M. MOLELEKOA
MOHAPI. Morija Sesuto Book Depot,
Morija. 1956. 72 pp. 3s. 3d.

The agricultural methods employed, and the various types of crops produced, by the Southern Sotho inhabitants of Basutoland in both ancient and modern times, are described in this booklet. In addition, the author gives a fairly long list of wild roots, fruits, and vegetables which were (and are still to some extent) used by these people to supplement their staple diet. This information will no doubt be welcomed by all those who are interested in a historical survey of the agricultural economy of the Southern Sotho people. It is certainly a valuable addition to the store of anthropological data relating to these people. The book is written along the same lines as Sekese's *Mekhoa ea Basotho* (Morija, 1953), but is fuller in treatment, since, unlike the latter,

it is devoted to one aspect only of the life of the Sotho people, viz. the agricultural aspect.

What is perhaps more interesting than anything else in this book is the obvious utilitarian value of religion and magic among the people under observation. They saw, as shown in this book, a cause-effect relationship between their material welfare and their religious and magical or superstitious beliefs. This was very much in evidence in their agricultural life. For instance, rain-making was resorted to in times of drought. This is described in some detail in paragraphs 62-64. The "doctoring", by the village doctor, of seeds and crops against destruction by pests and hail-storms, and against theft, is another of the many instances found in the book. Again, thanksgiving ceremonies were held after every harvest in order to propitiate the ancestral spirits, and thus ensure the prosperity of the crops in the coming seasons, or avert some possible disaster (p. 32).

Do certain destructive agencies not yield to the doctor's magic? Further, do some of them yield to such charms on certain occasions, but not on others? These questions arise from the fact that while, for example, the direction of a hail-storm may be changed, or seeds "doctored" in order to yield rich harvests, or rain made to fall during a drought—and a host of other "miracles" performed magically by the doctor in order to ensure the prosperity of the crops—while all these things are done, and good results are claimed, yet no such steps are taken against an invading swam of locusts, or against baboons and spring-hares, etc.; and they are only occasionally resorted to in the case of birds which play havoc on the millet fields. The existence, side by side, of a superstitious attitude and a matter-of-fact one in such similar circumstances, seems difficult to explain. Or may we see an analogous situation in the fact that no cure has yet been found for the common cold?

Of the other points raised in this book, one may refer to the author's statement (p. 31) that most of his informants deny that first-fruit ceremonies were ever held by the Southern Sotho. According to these informants, only the

Zulu, the Baca, and the Tswana did so. Two informants, however, insisted that the Southern Sotho did observe that custom. Again, the author refers to the system of land tenure, and states that the chief held the land in trust for the tribe, and that alienation by sale was not known.

One sometimes feels, unfortunately, that the author could have arranged his material in such a way that the old and the new would have been more easily distinguishable from each other, and therefore easier to compare.

Mohapi has written in excellent Sotho, and this further enhances the value of his book. The summarized folk-tale appearing in the opening paragraphs, presumably an attempt by the Sotho people to explain the origin of the domestication of crops, adds to its literary value, but is otherwise only a convenient peg upon which the author hangs his subject-matter. Other than that, it has no relation to the factual material presented.

The paragraphs are numbered, and this makes cross-references easier and more precise. At the end of the book appears a number of well-arranged indexes of *subjects*, *persons* and *tribes*, *flora*, *place-names*, and *Sotho terms*. Except for the latter, however, all the words in these indexes are given in English, whereas the rest of the book is written in Southern Sotho. I have tried in vain to find an explanation for this.

D. P. KUNENE

The Ngoni of Nyasaland. MARGARET READ. Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London. 1956. viii+212 pp., diag., tables, glossary, 2 maps. 35s.

Kin, Caste and Nation among the Rhodesian Ndebele. A. J. B. HUGHES. The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 25. Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Manchester. 1956. x+86 pp., plates, diag., table, 2 maps, glossary, bibliog. 10s. 6d.

Shaka's tyranny, though coming near to being an ill wind, seems to have blown compara-

tive sociology some good. By propelling a series of Nguni groups northward, it provided data for analyzing the effect of migration and conquest on social stratification, and the relationship between the masculinity of the conquerors on the one hand and the rigidity of stratification and the preservation of their culture on the other. Today, more than 130 years since the departure of the Ndebele and two groups of Ngoni, anthropologists are giving us accounts of the social systems set up by these nations on the march. Professor Barnes's recent study of the political organization of the Fort Jameson Ngoni of Northern Rhodesia¹ has now been followed by Dr. Hughes's preliminary report on the Southern Rhodesian Ndebele and Professor Read's long-awaited book on the Nyasaland Ngoni.

Though Mzilikazi's Ndebele (Moselekatse's Matebele to the Sotho and to white South African school-children) are perhaps the best known of the emigrant Nguni, the two Ngoni groups, one led by Zwangendaba Jere and the other by Ngwana Maseko (misspelt "Masebo" on one of Read's maps), preceded them. Zwangendaba and his people waded the Zambezi below Zumbo in the November low-water of 1835², at a time when Mzilikazi was still on the South African Highveld before his defeat by the Voortrekkers under Hendrik Potgieter (misspelt by Hughes, p. 7) in 1836 and shortly afterwards by a punitive expedition sent by Shaka's successor, Dingane. Zwangendaba's Ngoni, after many years and miles of wandering in Central Africa, returned to the Luangwa-Nyasa divide, where, as a result of the succession dispute following Zwangendaba's death, they divided into a number of independent groups, the two largest of which were led by his sons, Mbelwa and Mpeseni. Mbelwa's followers settled in what is now the Mzimba District of Northern Nyasaland; and Mpeseni's, in what is now the Fort Jameson District of Northern Rhodesia and the

immediately adjoining part of Central Nyasaland. The other Ngoni group, led by the Maseko clan, crossed the Zambezi, probably in canoes, in the neighbourhood of Tete, and, after an abortive journey to the east of Lake Nyasa, returned to what are now the Dedza and Ncheu Districts of Central Nyasaland and the adjoining *Circunscrição* of Angónia in Moçambique. Barnes's book dealt with Mpeseni's (Fort Jameson) Ngoni; Read's deals with Mbelwa's subjects in "the northern Ngoni kingdom" and with those of Ngwana Maseko's descendant, Gomani, in "the central Ngoni kingdom".

The independence of the Ndebele and of two of the three main Ngoni kingdoms ended in the 1890's in armed clashes with the advancing Whites. The third Ngoni kingdom, Mbelwa's, submitted to British protection without resistance. A comparison of these states during their independence shows that they faced common problems, such as the incorporation of the tribes they conquered and the preservation of their Nguni way of life in the face of the numerical preponderance of their alien following. The ways in which they met these problems differed, however, with the varying conditions to which they were subject. Thus all four groups developed highly stratified social systems, but one of them, the Rhodesian Ndebele, did this to such a degree that it has with some justification been called a caste society. Masculinity seems to have been one of the most important determinants of the differences between Ndebele and Ngoni society. Though the evidence is far from complete, it would appear that Mzilikazi crossed the Limpopo with a tribal following which had an evenly balanced sex ratio (Hughes, p. 8); whereas the Ngoni groups did not bring a large enough proportion of women with them to avoid intermarrying with the tribes they conquered.

This difference seems to have made it possible for the Ndebele to ban intermarriage between the three castes that emerged, and to have pre-

¹J. A. Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society*, London: Oxford University Press, 1954—reviewed in *African Studies*, 14, 3, 1955, 138-39, by Philip Mayer.

²The date was established by Lane Poole on the basis of a tradition that there was an eclipse of the sun on the day of the crossing. See E. H. Lane Poole, "The Date of the Crossing of the Zambezi by the Ngoni", *Journal of the African Society*, 29, 1929-30, 290-92. A small correction of the exact date is made by Barnes, *op cit.*, p. 3.

vented the Ngoni, who admittedly evolved highly stratified societies, from maintaining for long any attempts to develop endogamous castes. Correspondingly, the Ngoni seem to have suffered much greater linguistic and cultural losses than the Ndebele.

In many respects the emigrant Nguni states resembled the ones they left behind. The Ngoni, for instance, show a system of stratification very similar to that of the Swazi¹, and seem to have acquired it in much the same way except that the march on which they conquered and incorporated new clans was not, as with the Swazi, confined to a relatively small, culturally homogeneous area. The administrative organization of the Ndebele and Ngoni was basically similar to that of the Swazi and Zulu, though there seems to have been less power in the hands of the king's agnates and correspondingly more in the hands of important commoners. It is significant in this connection that Hughes translates *induna* as "chief" rather than "councillor" (p. 11); and that Read attributes the increasing frequency of marriages between Ngoni girls of the socially superior clans originating in Swaziland and men of "non-Swazi" clans to "mingling on an official level" between the two clan categories concerned as a result of the appointment of men of "non-Swazi" clans to important offices (p. 121). Another change was that "regiments" among the Ndebele ceased being age-regiments and became indefinitely persisting political segments (Hughes, pp. 15 ff.); and among the Ngoni they became less centralized than among the Swazi or Zulu (Read, p. 38).

Though Hughes's paper is only a preliminary report, it contains enough that is competently done to make his longer study something to look forward to. Read's work is based on wide

experience and on field work in which she succeeded in establishing excellent rapport. The reviewer, who had the good fortune to follow some of her tracks ten years later, noted the esteem and affection with which *A Dona Read* was remembered in both Mpeseni's and Gomani's kingdoms. Biased by his Cewa affiliation, he suspects, however, that she was sometimes unduly influenced by the marked Ngoni aristocratic ethnocentrism and nostalgia for the past. For instance, to him it seems questionable that the Ngoni introduced to the local tribes the idea of "one law for all people" (pp. 88-89) and the dormitory organization of boys' life and activities (p. 115).

A disappointing aspect of Read's book is that, while she has interesting comments to make (pp. 15-17) regarding the applicability of the theoretical concepts developed in *African Political Systems*² to her Ngoni material, she does not, like Hughes (pp. 21-23), discuss Barnes's useful concept of the continually segmenting system³ in relation to her observations. Presumably the delay between first draft and publication accounts for this omission.

By providing a rich selection of ethnographic detail, much of it given an authentic ring by the frequent reproduction of texts written by Ngoni informants, Read succeeds admirably in demonstrating her two main points, firstly, that the Ngoni have shown "tenacity in adhering to certain traditional practices", especially those concerned with their socio-political organization and ancestor cult; and, secondly, that they have shown "ability . . . in adapting their culture and political system to the mixed populations in their kingdoms" and to the advent of European-Christian influences (pp. 202-203).

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¹Hilda Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, London: Oxford University Press, 1947, especially pp. 13-14 and Appendix II.

²Edited by M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, London: Oxford University Press, 1940.

³Barnes, *op cit.*, pp. 57 ff.

